

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Frontline States

Defense Ministers, ANC, PAC To Meet 17 June

MB1606194893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1847 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Windhoek June 16 SAPA—The defence ministers from seven Frontline States and military representatives of the African National Congress [ANC] and Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] meet in Windhoek on Thursday.

They will discuss regional defence and security issues, Namibia's Defence Ministry said.

Delegates from Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, the ANC and the PAC have been meeting all week to prepare for the Frontline States 15th interstate defence and security meeting.

Inter-African Union for Human Rights

Human Rights Official on Current Issues

LD1406154793 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Today's guest on RFI Afrique Midi is Alidou Ouedraogo, president of the Inter-African Union for Human Rights. Assane Diop met him in Vienna at the opening of the second world human rights conference organized by the United Nations. Assane Diop asked him the stakes of such a conference:

[Begin recording] [Ouedraogo] This world conference was well planned by African non-governmental organizations. The stakes are important; human rights on the African continent have had a bad press. We seized several occasions, in Geneva and mainly here to attempt to set up a coordination with African non-governmental organizations so as to get a certain number of points of view across. Once the possibility of strengthening the African human rights network has been achieved, we will have to stress the improvement of the human rights situation on the continent and to merge in the points which will follow the talks of the world conference so as not to move backward after Tehran. The Tehran meeting represented an improvement; something extra will have to be added to it.

[Diop] In concrete terms what does this extra mean for human rights organizations in Africa?

[Ouedraogo] It is, for instance, to prove that Africa cannot elude the indivisible and universal nature of human rights. Why? Because there is a usual trend of identifying the specific nature of human rights problems so as to violate human rights [sentence as heard]. For us, as an Africa non-governmental organization, this specific nature must serve general interest. For instance, when we ask for the freeing of this or that person in this and or that continent, we do not meddle in the internal affairs of this continent or that country but we simply ask

for the respect, the implementation of human rights which are contained in international human rights covenants ratified by states and heads of states, that's all.

[Diop] There is a universal concept of human rights, are there violations of human rights specific to African conditions?

[Ouedraogo] There are many human rights violations specific to African conditions. For instance, you can see that during this meeting the right to development will be mentioned again. We are committed to showing the link between development and democracy and to saying that without democracy there is no development. You see that is where the infringement is to be found in several African states. Generally speaking, we can see that poverty reigns on the continent, this poverty will have to be eradicated. Now there are unacceptable and unbearable acts like, for instance, arrests, imprisonment for opinion offenses, for the right to be different.

[Diop] Africans are also very concerned by the violation of the rights of minorities, of the local populations, of peasants, of religious or ethnic leaders. [passage omitted] What do you think of the right to interfere in internal affairs, demanded by some countries, I am thinking of Zaire where the Tshisekedi transitional government demands the stationing of UN blue helmets to act as a buffer to Mobutu's presidential power. Should we have a right to interfere if we consider that there is a notion of national sovereignty in international law?

[Ouedraogo] This right to interfere ought to be handled with care, it must be based on equality. For instance, we cannot ask to intervene in Africa in such a way and remain silent when faced with the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If this right to interfere is advocated at the UN Security Council, if it is carried by several countries in conformity with current international and internal laws, I believe that there will not be any problem. [passage omitted; speculation on the possible creation of a UN high commission for human rights] [end recording]

Preferential Trade Area

Zambian Official Comments on PTA 'Dumping' Accusations

MB0906135993 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 9 Jun 93

[From the "Channel Africa Report"]

[Text] Zambian manufacturers have accused the Preferential Trade Area for East and Southern Africa of allowing South Africa to swamp the trading bloc with subsidized export goods. The Zambian Government has been inundated with petitions calling for legislation allowing local manufacturers a chance to find their feet. Channel Africa asked Zambian Deputy Minister of

Finance Paul Tembo, who is currently in Johannesburg, to comment on the allegations by the country's private sector:

[Begin Tembo recording] The first thing you see when you take a look at the manufacturing sector in Zambia is that in the past there has not been much competition but, like we have said, given the [word indistinct] economy, it certainly means that for people to continue to flourish in their business, they have to produce high quality goods [words indistinct]. So the issue of South African goods that were given a subsidy—yes, that could have an effect on their merchandise.

Second, what happens is that, when you take a look at the quality of goods that they produce, the kind of packaging and things like that, today a lot of people would like to pay money and get real (?value) for their money. So the question about their [word indistinct] price, all that the government is trying to get down to, is only one outcry which I think is quite justified, where the protection gap between finished products in terms of duty between finished products and raw materials is quite minimal. I think there is only a difference of 10 percent. So you find that those people that are bringing in finished products into Zambia, they will pay about (?40) percent duty, whereas those that bring in raw materials will pay about 30 percent duty.

So you find that by the time this commodity which has been brought into Zambia as a raw material is turned out into the finished product, looking at the production costs, overheads, and things like that, the price of the commodity certainly goes up, beating what has been brought into the country as a finished product. But we have made it very clear to them again that, even if we do that, we do not want to stand and protect any industry. An industry should be able to protect itself by the quality of (?the work) [words indistinct] [end recording]

Official Denies Swaziland Used for Dumping Goods

MB1106134793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 11 Jun 93

[Text] A senior official of the Preferential Trade Area for east and southern Africa has dismissed claims that Swaziland is being used by South Africa to flood the sub-continent with its consumer goods.

The spokesman for the organization said in Lusaka that the claim was unjustified because Swaziland did not export goods from South Africa. Zambian manufacturers complained at a seminar of the organization this week that they were being forced out of business because subsidized imports from South Africa had flooded the market.

South Africa, which does not belong to the Preferential Trade Area, has also denied the allegations.

Southern African Development Community

Zimbabwe Official Views RSA Membership in SADC

MB1506060493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2002 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Harare June 14 SAPA—Southern African Development Community [SADC] countries will welcome post-apartheid South Africa as their eleventh member state only on equitable and mutually beneficial terms, a senior Zimbabwe official said on Monday [14 June].

Speaking at a workshop to discuss current issues affecting South Africa, Zimbabwe and southern Africa, Foreign Affairs Deputy Secretary Mr. C. Mangwana said the SADC did not expect a democratic South Africa to be the "engine for economic growth" within the region, the ZIANA news agency reported.

"The SADC harbours no expectations that a democratic South Africa will play the role of 'engine for growth' in the region, nor do we entertain any notions of that country becoming a 'donor' to the rest of the region," Mr. Mangwana said.

He told local and US academics attending the workshop that South Africa was neither too big, too advanced nor too rich to fit into the community of nations of southern Africa and so it could be incorporated as an equal partner within the SADC.

He said South Africa currently exported two thirds of its goods to SADC countries which it could not place on the international market, making it more dependent on the region.

The inclusion of South Africa within the SADC would result in an enlarged regional market.

There were, however, disadvantages to the inclusion of South Africa because there was an "incipient polarisation of investment in favour of South Africa".

Mr. Mangwana said local industries were not happy about the increased imports from South Africa which were replacing the demand for their own products.

There was also increased discontent on the increasing brain drain from SADC countries to South Africa.

These imbalances, he said, needed to be addressed in order to reduce the disadvantages other southern African countries had over South Africa.

Chad

Deby Returns to Ndjamena 15 Jun

AB1606150593 Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 0530 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Colonel Idriss Deby, the president of the Republic, returned yesterday afternoon to Ndjamena. The head of state was on his way from The Hague where he personally attended the formal opening of the court's hearings devoted to the examination of the suit jointly filed by Libya and Chad on the Aouzou border dispute.

The presence of the head of state was meant to show the importance he attaches to the settlement of this case which, Col. Deby said, has been thwarting Chad's development. He stated this while visiting the offices of the lawyers charged with defending Chad's position.

Besides, we will come back to the International Court of Justice hearings in our subsequent casts.

Congo

President Lissouba To Meet Party Leaders on Crisis

AB1706101293 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] After observing a situation that has been worsening as the days go by, the Congolese president has apparently decided to go down into the ring. It was announced on 15 June that Pascal Lissouba would address the nation but according to well informed sources, that has been postponed indefinitely, but the president will meet with all political party leaders this morning. This initiative by the Congolese head of state comes amid prevailing tension throughout the country, especially in Brazzaville where opposition activists are apparently continuing to impose their laws. Our special correspondent, Guy-Bertrand Mapangou, has the rest of the story:

[Begin recording] The calm is still uncertain in the absence of a political compromise to restore peace and serenity. Gunshots were still heard last night not far from the city center, while the situation worsened progressively in the interior of the country, notably in the southeast where roadblocks have paralyzed train movement for three days. Brazzaville train station is completely deserted. The Blue Train and the Sun Train that commute daily between Brazzaville and Pointe Noire are still absent from the platform. One can see sad scenes of passengers sleeping on the floor, waiting for the train to whistle for them to go back to their villages.

The paralysis of train movement is a disadvantage not only to travelers but also to shops whose shelves will soon be empty. People are competing with one another in hoarding food supplies for possible shortages, mainly of basic commodities. As for fuel stations, they are already empty. Consequently, the black market has quickly developed in this vital sector. Zairians come from the other side of the Congo river with their dugouts full of jerry cans that they sell at very low prices but these jerry cans contain gas, kerosene, and gasoil which are often of bad quality. People are satisfied with that however as they hope for a better future.

Perhaps this better future will emerge from today's meeting between the president of the Republic, all political parties, and religious leaders. This meeting was convened by President Lissouba whose partisans are already accusing of lazity for failing to order the Army to recutablish public order. This issue was examined yesterday by the Senate which asked Claude Antoine Dacosta's government to adopt all the necessary measures to restore peace, a peace that is shrinking as the number of roadblocks increase. [end recording]

The Congolese opposition, whose demands are known—cancellation and reorganization of the second round of the legislative elections in 12 constituencies—clarified their stand yesterday in a statement read on national radio. The Congolese Labor Party, the former single ruling party, and the Union for Democratic Renewal accused the presidential group of having recruited 2,000 mercenaries trained by a foreign power to, and I quote, execute their leaders. The same statement said that the presidential group had planned to remove the chief of staff of the Congolese Armed Forces, General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko, and the commander of the Brazzaville military zone, Colonel Etienne Malonga.

Opposition Boycotts Meeting

AB1706104293 Paris AFP in French 0903 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Brazzaville, 17 Jun (AFP)—The Congolese opposition has decided to "refuse with all due respect," President Lissouba's invitation to a meeting today, in line consultations on the prevailing crisis in the country, a communique published in Brazzaville said. The opposition stated that "the security conditions and prerequisites for such a meeting had not been met to guarantee its participation."

Mr. Lissouba had called on the opposition, the presidential group, Andre Milongo's Union for Democracy and the Republic [UDR], the Ecumenical Council, and the Islamic Committee, to take part in a meeting without the Armed Forces High Command, which had mediated earlier in the conflict between the opposition and the presidential group.

In the communique signed by its leader, Mr. Bernard Kolelas, the opposition regretted that the Armed Forces High Command had not been invited to the meeting and expressed surprise at the invitation extended to the UDR, the Ecumenical Council, and the Islamic Committee as they had never taken part in any meeting.

The "opposition coalition doubts President Lissouba's sincere willingness to negotiate," the communique further stated, accusing the presidential group of having boycotted "the conclusions of the 13 June meeting between the opposition and the head of state."

A source close to the Presidency of the Republic disclosed to AFP that the Armed Forces High Command, which was not invited to President Lissouba's meeting, was later asked to join the meeting. The source regretted the opposition's attitude, stressing that in these conditions, Mr. Lissouba would find himself facing only the other parties invited to this consultative meeting.

Opposition Says Ruling Group Hiring Mercenaries

AB1606164093 Paris AFP in French 1432 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Brazzaville, 16 Jun (AFP)—In a radio statement read on 16 June by Mr. Narcisse Missamoud, an opposition spokesman, the Congolese opposition accused the presidential group of having "recruited 2,000 mercenaries" "trained by a foreign power" to "execute opposition leaders." The statement did not, however, give any details on the mercenaries' nationality or the foreign power allegedly providing the military training.

Furthermore, the opposition said that the presidential group intends to replace General Jean-Marie Michel Mokoko, chief of Army staff, and military zone Commander Colonel Etienne Malonga for refusing to "shoot at the people."

The opposition also accused President Pascal Lissouba's presidential group of violating the accord signed between the two sides on 3 December 1992 on the establishment of a national union government as well as an electoral commission by organizing the second round of early parliamentary elections in collaboration with the government and by censoring the state media.

The opposition statement concluded by calling on the "people to toughen its civil disobedience movement" to fight against the "presidential group's dictatorial" power.

In a statement published on 14 June, the presidential group accused the opposition of "undeniably rejecting the 3 December accord by illegally distributing weapons and calling for civil war."

Zaire

Tshisekedi Advocates More Pressure on Modutu AB1606221593 Paris AFP in French 1642 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Text] Kinshasa, 14 Jun (AFP)—Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi, the main radical opponent of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, has said that he intends to continue "to pressure Marshal Mobutu" and will not talk with him in order to resolve the crisis in the country.

In statements reported today by newspapers close to the Sacred Union, which is composed of the radical opposition, Mr. Tshisekedi said "the search for a solution to the political crisis" that the country is currently experiencing should be "defined in terms of pressure and not dialogue." In this respect, he pointed out that his political party, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, refused to join the Sacred Union delegation that went on 21 May to Gbadolite, where President Mobutu lives, to renew a dialogue with the head of state.

Mr. Tshisekedi advocated tougher actions against the head of state. "We going to go beyond (organizing) ghost city days," he stressed without further details. "We will apply pressure everywhere, both in and out of the country, until Mr. Mobutu and his puppet government [the government of Faustin Birindwa] are compelled to comply with the plan of the National Conference or resign," he added.

Opposition Papers Criticize Monsengwo's Actions AB1606222393 Paris AFP in French 1027 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Kinshasa, 16 Jun (AFP)—Monsignor Laurent Mosengwo, chairman of the Zairian High Council of the Republic, was bitterly criticized today by various papers close to the radical opposition who blame him for not supporting Etienne Tshisekedi strongly enough and for contemplating his removal from the political scene.

UMOJA, which reflects the stand of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, UDPS, Mr. Tshisekedi's political party, openly accused the clergyman of having personal ambitions and "seeking to overtake Tshisekedi." "Cassock can hide political ambitions," the newspaper said.

Another paper, LE POTENTIEL, has said that Zairian bishops, "Msgr. Monsengwo's accomplices, have a campaign against Tshisekedi."

Msgr. Monsengwo, who constitutes a moral authority recognized by Western countries, is increasingly confronted with criticisms from the radical opposition close to Tshisekedi.

This opposition blames him for calling for "a third option" to solve the political crisis in Zaire, an option that would ignore Tshisekedi and Birindwa, who was sworn in as prime minister by Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko to replace the UDPS leader. [passage omitted]

Eritrea

Isayas Interviewed on Democracy, Part I

EA1606130093 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigriñya 0400 GMT 15 Jun 93

[First installment of report on interview with President Isayas Afewerki in Asmera on 12 June—Isayas passages are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] How close is the structure of the transitional government to the internationally accepted parliamentary and presidential system? Would it not be better if the legislative and executive bodies are separated for better control? Why was it necessary to have a transitional government in the first place?

[Isayas] [Passage omitted] The structure of the transitional government, be it the legislative or the executive, was created in accordance with the established parliamentary system. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] How shall the Constitution of Eritrea be drafted and adopted? Could you give us your views on its contents?

[Isayas] This is an issue I briefly touched on in the first question. When a constitution is drafted the question that comes to mind is who shall draft it and what form shall it have? [passage omitted]

But the foremost participants will be the people whose interests are at stake, and hence this should enable the people to participate fully in drafting it, even if they have no legal knowledge. [passage omitted]

The basic contents of the Constitution will be respect for human and civil rights. This enables the Constitution to ensure these rights. There should also be a clear distinction between the judicial, legislative, and executive bodies. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] When we were struggling for the respect of our rights and liberation of our country we had clear objectives in front of us. Now that our country has been liberated, there is a need for a national philosophy to guide and reconstruct our country and reflect our struggle. Would you give us your view on this?

[Isayas] This is probably one of the more difficult questions to answer. It is difficult to talk of a national philosophy and it will be left to the free views of the people, I think. [passage omitted]

We cannot say we are satisfied and sleeping well just because our country has been liberated and is a sovereign state. Inasmuch as we understand that the issue of the majority of our people is still not yet on the right footing, this shall be the responsibility of the people and the country at large and hence we have an objective. We want to liberate our country from begging for relief supplies and to become self sufficient and developed so that we can hold our heads high like others. [passage omitted]

Isayas Interview, Part II

EA1606131793 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1600 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Second installment of report on interview with President Isayas Afewerki in Asmera on 12 June—Isayas passages are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Bearing in mind our political history and [word indistinct], what are the plans of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] and the government to implement democracy?

[Isayas] First of all we must understand that democracy is not a gift from heaven. Democracy is something which comes through a political process. The view of the EPLF, the Eritrean Government, and the people is [word indistinct]. This is because the issue of democracy in Eritrea is no longer a controversial one. Today, the world is talking a lot about democracy. Even those who do not accept democracy also talk about it. The EPLF, at its second organizational congress in 1987, made it clear that it follows democracy as its strategy without the need for any external pressure. This was even before all these changes which are taking place in the world today.

After independence in 1991, in order to implement this, the EPLF formed a provisional government in order to map out the future political system of Eritrea, which will be a multiparty system. How will this system be ensured? The presence of political parties does not by itself mean that it will lead us to a true democratic system. Democracy should have a foundation and institutions. If we are going to talk about democracy in the United States and Europe, we can see that democracy in these countries was ensured because it is based on democratic institutions and governments. This job cannot be done immediately. If we take for example the U.S. Constitution-it took them more than 13 years to draft it [passage indistinct]. But this does not mean that it will take the same length of time to ensure democracy in Eritrea. [passage omitted]

To ensure democracy in Eritrea, there must be a constitution which involves the participation and approval of every Eritrean. This is one of the main things that has to be done for a multiparty and democratic system in Eritrea. It is necessary to draft laws which are in line with multipartyism and a constitution.

[Announcer] It is said that there will be a multiparty system in Eritrea in the future. However, the existence of a multiparty system may create (?political problems). How will the establishment and number of the parties be decided? Do you think that there is need to talk about a multiparty system when our economy has not yet been revived?

[Isayas] I have answered part of this question already. I will focus on the question of which type of parties will be allowed under multipartyism. In Eritrea there will be no parties based on religion, tribe, or region. Such parties will be illegal. [passage omitted]

Parties affiliated with foreign political parties or which represent foreign political parties, act on behalf of foreign parties or political organizations, receive material or financial assistance from foreign political organizations, or propagate the ideas of foreign political parties will also not be allowed to operate in Eritrea. This is because they are not national parties.

Somalia

Further on UN Forces, Operations in Mogadishu

Another Pro-Aidid Demonstration

AB1606120093 Paris AFP in French 0838 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Mogadishu, 16 Jun (AFP)—About 1,000 supporters of General Farah Aidid gathered at midmorning today in front of the old stadium in southern Mogadishu to protest against UN air raids. "Yes to peace, No to war; Somalia is not for sale," read the inscriptions on the streamers freshly printed in blue.

Attacking the American president, the demonstrators also shouted "Down with Clinton," and they all raised their fists in anger anytime an American surveillance helicopter flew overhead. Aidid's supporters said they did not intend to demonstrate along the 21 October Road, where the stadium is located, toward the Km 4 roundabout. It was along that road that at least 14 pro-Aidid demonstrators were killed and 30 others wounded by Pakistani Blue Helmets on 13 June. Also on 14 June, about 1,000 pro-Aidid demonstrators gathered in front of the stadium to protest against UN air attacks on Aidid positions, and the death of 14 demonstrators.

Troops Move Into Aidid's Neighborhood

ABi706070093 Paris AFP in English 0427 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Mogadishu, June 17 (AFP)—United Nations ground forces clashed with Somali gunmen in the streets of Mogadishu after a four-hour bombardment by Spectre attack planes on the area around the headquarters of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid early Thursday.

Witnesses said at least one Somali had been shot dead. Italian UN troops were surrounded by armed and angry Somali crowds at one location near General Aidid's headquarters, they said.

After the bombardment by AC-130 Spectre attack planes, a column of about 30 mainly Italian and French tanks and armoured personnel carriers started moving at dawn from the K4 roundabout in southern Mogadishu

towards the neighbourhood of Aidid's headquarters, less than a kilometre (half a mile) away. Light arms fire erupted minutes later, and was heard sporadically for the next 30 minutes. Further bursts continued intermittently afterwards.

A UN military official in Mogadishu contacted by satellite telephone said no U.S. ground forces were involved. "We have an ongoing military operation against the USC [United Somali Congress] / SNA [Somali National Alliance]," the official said.

The United Somali Congress (USC)—Somali National Alliance (SNA) is the faction led by General Aidid, blamed by the UN for the June 5 killngs of 23 Pakistani peacekepeers.

An angry Somali came to a hotel at the K4 roundabout and told foreigners they would be killed. Most foreign journalists are staying at the hotel.

The AC-130s launched the attack at 0135 AM (1035 GMT Wednesday) with warning shots from what seemed to be 40-millimetre cannons. They stopped after about 15 minutes, and loudspeakers broadcast messages in Somali and English urging residents to come out and surrender their arms. The bornbardment resumed about 40 minutes later with the much louder explosions of what appeared to be 105-mm cannons.

A few minutes before dawn, flames and smoke were seen billowing from the area as a muezzin issued the first call to prayer from a nearby mosque.

Aidid was said to have left Mogadishu earlier in the day, but his ally, fellow warlord Omar Jays, was believed to be in his house nearby, Somali sources said. But there was no confirmation of the whereabouts of either.

The loudspeaker messages told Aidid militiamen and local residents to evacuate the area and head for the Afgoy Road, near the UN military base at the heavily fortified former U.S. Embassy.

AC-130s with searchlights circled the city as the missiles hit targets near Aidid's villa, which serves as his home and headquarters.

Relief workers contacted by radio said they had been told over the radio by Somali guards in the residence of the U.S.-based International Medical Corps [IMC], a few hundred yards from Aidid's house, that nearby buildings had been hit by shrapnel. All foreign staff have left the IMC residence.

U.S.-led United Nations forces since Saturday had staged three previous raids on Aidid strongholds, killing 14 Somalis. The attacks were in retaliation for the deaths June 5 of the 23 Pal:istanis, who, according to the United Nations, were ambushed here by Aidid partisans.

The raids have triggered strong anti-U.S. and anti-United Nations feelings in some parts of the Somali capital and have provoked violent confrontations between demonstrators and Pakistani troops.

In one incident 14 Somalis died on Sunday when Pakistani peacekeepers opened fire on protesters.

[Paris AFP in English at 0405 GMT on 17 June, in a Mogadishu-datelined item by David Chazan, adds the following: "Three Italian tanks were blocking the road from the K4 roundabout to Aidid's headquarters and soldiers were putting up barbed wire to close off the road about a kilometre (half a mile) from the warlord's quarters. They chased away a group Somalis who gathered to watch. Another route to Aidid's headquarters along October 21 Avenue was still open but sustained light arms fire prevented anyone venturing that way."]

Six Somalis Wounded

AB1706071493 Paris AFP in English 0648 GMT 17 Jun

[By Jean-Pierre Campagne]

[Excerpts] Mogadishu, June 17 (AFP)—UN forces pressed a major ground offensive on the headquarters of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid in Mogadishu early Thursday after a four-hour bombardment by AC-130 Spectre attack planes.

Exchanges of automatic weapons fire and grenade explosions could be heard and two Cobra helicopters began heavy bombardments as the UN forces apparently surrounded a block of houses around the headquarters of Aidid's United Somali Congress (USC)-Somali National Alliance (SNA). [passage omitted]

At least six Somalis were wounded in Thursday morning's UN offensive near Aidid's headquarters, the humanitarian organisation Medecins sans Frontieres later reported after its members visited Digfer Hospital. Firing continued around the headquarters at 9930 local time (0630 GMT) after a lull brought on by heavy rain. UN tanks had sealed off access to the fighting area as helicopters continued to fly overhead.

'Serious Resistance' Cited

AB1706090093 Paris AFP in French 0827 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Mogadishu, 17 Jun (AFP)—American Cobra helicopters fired five TOW missiles within 10 minutes near the Km4 roundabout in southeastern Mogadishu this morning to dislodge marksmen hiding in the baildings there. By 1100, the helicopters were also firing machine guns while the marksmen retaliated with light weapons. The UN forces are meeting with serious resistance in these battles, according to AFP reporters at the scene.

Further on Capture of Aidid's House

AB1706103093 Paris AFP in English 1016 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Mogadishu, June 17 (AFP)—U.N. soldiers captured the headquarters of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid Thursday after it had been pounded by U.S. AC-130 attack planes overnight, an AFP photographer said. When about 50 Pakistani U.N. troops supported by Italian and U.S. forces entered the building at about 11:00 a.m. (0800 GMT) it was empty apart from three women in the courtyard. The roof had been destroyed by 105 mm shells. Snipers nearby continued firing, as Pakistani troops searched the building and found 40 to 50 M16 and AK47 automatic rifles, some of which had rusted. Helicopter gunships hovered overhead, occasionally firing rockets into nearby buildings. General Aidid's bedroom was empty, and there were no covers on the

The raid was the fourth and heaviest U.S.-led strike in retaliation for the June 5 killings of 23 Pakistani peace-keepers, allegedly by Aidid's militiamen. Brigadier-General Ikram ul-Hassan, the commander of Pakistani U.N. peacekeepers here, said he did not know where General Aidid was. Ikram toured Aidid's compound a few hours after the attack amid heavy sniper fire and retaliation from U.S. Cobra helicopter gunships that fire TOW anti-tank missiles.

U.S. Rangers of the 1,200-strong U.S.-commanded Quick Reaction Force were deployed in the surrounding streets while the Pakistani soldiers started loading the assault rifles, rocket launchiers and ammunition boxes found at the headquarters onto trucks. Several other houses in the area were his. One was believed to belong to Aidid's ally and fellow warlord Omar Jays.

The nearby house of Aidid's chief financier Osman Ato was also thought to have been hit. Somali witnesses said they had seen Osman driving away from the area soon after the air strikes began. A wounded Somali was seen being carried away on a stretcher, but it was impossible to ascertain the extent of casualties. One Somali was killed and another wounded by a TOW missile fired at the building of the French aid organisation International Action Against Hunger, a worker for the organisation contacted by telephone said. The building is in southwestern Mogadishu, about one kilometre (O.6 mile) from Aidid's headquarters.

Moroccan Soldiers Wounded

AB1706103393 Paris AFP in English 1019 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Paris, June 17 (AFP)—About 12 Moroccan U.N. soldiers were wounded Thursday during the U.N. offensive against the headquarters of Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid in Mogadishu, French Army General Philippe Mercier said here. French U.N. troops were trying to evacuate the wounded Moroccans, who had been among those leading the attack, Mercier, the

French Armed Forces operational commander said. A 150-strong French company is also taking part in the U.N. operation.

Tanzania

Government Disbands Koran Propagation Council

EA1706093293 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] In Dar es Salaam, the government has officially disbanded the Council for the Propagation of the Koran in Tanzania [Balukta—led by Sheikh Yahya Hussein] with effect from 15 June, following its involvement in issues beyond its responsibility.

A statement issued on 16 June by the Department of Information, Maelezo, said the step was taken in accordance with the law of Association of Patrons which gives authority to the chief public trustee to cancel its registration. The statement further stated that Balukta failed to adhere to a registration directive that demands that it should involve itself only with the propagation of the reading of the Koran. On the contrary, it continued to associate itself with issues beyond this responsibility.

The statement added that following an intensive and exhaustive examination of various documents on the registration of Balukta, it was established that the patrons of Balukta had received sponsorship through fraudulent means and that they had earlier been refused registration under the Associations Act, as required by law.

Negotiations Set To Resume Amid 'War' Atmosphere

MB1706084993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0802 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 17 SAPA—"War has been declared" at Kempton Park where the 26-party Negotiating Council is about to meet.

This is how the two camps, broadly-speaking, in multiparty negotiations summed up the mood before the start of Thursday's [17 June] proceedings.

"War has been declared," planning committee member Pravin Gordhan of the Transvaal Indian Congress/Natal Indian Congress, and part of the African National Congress [ANC] alliance at talks, said after a planning committee failed to reach agreement on the day's agenda.

"That's pretty close to it," Ciskei negotiator and planning committee member Mickey Webb, of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), said about the so-called declaration of war.

The six Cosag parties in the Negotiating Council want "certain procedural matters" to be cleared up first on Thursday before debate can continue on "substantive matters".

The Cosag grouping, which walked out of negotiations for the day on Tuesday in part because a future form of state was not top of the agenda, has prepared a number of statements and resolutions which it wants to put to the council before any other debate takes place on Thursday.

Their main concern is the way negotiations in the Negotiating Council have been handled so far.

They accuse the chairmen of the council, which rotates, of ruling that sufficient consensus has been achieved on issues when they believe that not to be the case.

Mr. Gordhan accused the Cosag grouping of "filibustering" in the council, and said the matter would be put to the floor on Tuesday "so that the public out there can see what Cosag is really up to".

"If it falls apart today it will never get together again," Mr. Webb said.

He accused the ANC and government and their allies in negotiations of not being prepared "to achieve a meeting of minds". "Cosag may now be forced not to continue in negotiations," Mr. Webb added.

Cosag negotiators told SAPA before the start of proceedings that if their concerns were not addressed adequately they would withhold their consensus from agreement on all issues.

Observers said such a move would make it difficult for the negotiating council to make recommendations, including on an election date, to next Friday's scheduled negotiating forum meeting.

The forum has to adopt council recommendations for decisions of the council to be binding on participants.

There was even the chance that the negotiating forum would have to be postponed because of the threatened Cosag action, the observers said.

Cosag has accused the technical committee dealing with constitutional issues of not addressing adequately its one-phase transition model, in which the council draws up the final new constitution for the country, and elections could be held as early as the end of this year or the beginning of next year.

Under the two-phase model, as supported by broadly by the government and the ANC and their allies, the council draws up an interim constitution and an elected constitution-making body (constituent assembly), set up after elections, draws up the final constitution.

Cosag wants the technical committee to present these two models in detail to the council for debate.

It also wants form of state, whether South Africa ends up with a federal or unitary state, to be decided before detailed debate on matters such as constitutional issues take place.

Dr. Dawie de Villiers, chief National Party negotiator and minister of public enterprises, said at the council meeting on Tuesday before the six Cosag members walked out, that the two-phase approach as dealt with by the technical committee was a bridge between the call for a unitary or federal state.

He appealed to the Cosag grouping to wait until the whole package had been completed in detail before passing judgement.

The Cosag members participating in negotiations, the Inkatha Freedom Party and kwaZulu government, Conservative Party, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Afrikaner Volksunie [National Union], were present at the start of Thursday's council meeting.

KwaZulu Delegation To Return to Multiparty Talks

MB1706060093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] The kwaZulu government's delegation is to return to the multiparty negotiations in Kempton Park today. This was announced after the kwaZulu government's Legislative Assembly held a special meeting at Ulundi last night. The delegation was one of six forming the Concerned South Africans Group, Cosag, which walked out of negotiations on Tuesday after a dispute on the issue of a future federal form of state. KwaZulu was the

only delegation to announce that it would resume negotiations, despite earlier indications that all the delegations would return this morning. The kwaZulu government said in a statement that it was inflexible in its demand for federalism.

Negotiations Impasse Reportedly Averted

MB1706120893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1136 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 17 SAPA—An impasse seems to have been averted in multiparty negotiations at Kempton Park on Thursday [17 June].

Senior negotiators have been frantically working behind the scenes all morning in a bid to avert what some negotiators have described as a "declaration of war".

The two camps in talks are broadly represented by, on the one side, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and, on the other side, the government and the African National Congress [ANC] and their allies.

Negotiators have averted a clash between the two sides by agreeing to a resolution, which has still to be finalised and tabled in the 26-party Negotiating Council, proposing that the council take no decisions on Thursday.

The six members of Cosag have threatened to withdraw their consensus from the debate unless their favoured one-phase transition model is dealt with by the relevant technical committee.

Sources in the 10-member planning committee said at lunchtime the declaration of war between the two camps before proceedings got underway came after the ANC refused to agree to a postponement of decision-taking on Thursday.

SAPA was told the ANC had since "come round" to agree to the compromise proposal, which sources expected would be put to the negotiating council after lunch.

If this happened, the Cosag grouping would continue with the proposed agenda and discuss detailed constitutional matters, planning committee member and Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said at lunch.

"The impasse has been averted," he said before rushing off to a hastily-convened planning committee meeting.

It was further expected the technical committee on constitutional matters would be instructed by the council to draw up a report on the Cosag one-phase model.

The committee, made up mainly of academics and constitutional specialists, has so far concentrated its work on the two-phase transition model as supported by the government and ANC and their allies.

Speaker after speaker from the Cosag grouping on Thursday reiterated their demand for equal treatment by the technical committee.

Only once the council has debated the two models will any decisions be taken, sources predicted on Thursday.

The Negotiating Council still faces a likely stormy debate later in the day when the issue of what exactly "sufficient consensus" means.

As far as Cosag is concerned, previous chairmen, who work on a rotating basis, have ruled in favour of sufficient consensus despite the opposition of the six Cosag members and sometimes one or two other participants.

Cosag argues that there cannot be sufficient consensus on "cardinal issues" such as constitutional matters if eight of the 26 participants oppose a proposal.

Sufficient consensus as defined in the standing rules of the negotiations process has been criticised as being too vague, and Cosag is demanding clarity.

Further on Soweto Day Commemoration Events, Speeches

Mandela Misses Memorial Ceremony

MB1606134393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0928 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—People have started gathering at the Hector Pietersen memorial site outside the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West, where a wreath is to be laid to commemorate the 1976 student uprising.

African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela was scheduled to lay the wreath on Wednesday [16 June] morning.

But, officials said, due to the walkout by parties in the Concerned South Africans Group at the Multiparty Negotiating Forum on Tuesday, Mr. Mandela was attending an urgent ANC national executive meeting and could not attend the ceremony.

Mr. Mandela is scheduled to address a rally at Orlando Stadium in the sprawling Soweto township at noon.

Hector Pietersen's mother is now expected to lay the wreath at the site where her son was shot at the start of the students' protest campaign in June 1976.

There is a slight police and military presence in the township and only a few buses and taxis are running. Most residents are staying at home to commemorate Soweto Day.

Mandela Addresses Rally

MB1606142493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1330 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—Nelson Mandela warned on Wednesday the negotiation process will not be held to ransom, after a group of federalists and conservatives walked out of constitutional talks a day ago.

In a speech at a Soweto rally to commemorate the 1976 Soweto student uprising, the African National Congress [ANC] president charged the Concerned South African Group [Cosag] had attempted to wreck the negotiations through its walkout.

"It must be made clear. No party will be allowed to hold the multiparty negotiations to ransom. Our country is crying for peace," he boomed across the capacity-filled Orlando stadium in the heart of the sprawling township.

"It (the walkout) was an act of provocation which was intended to destroy the multiparty discussions."

Mr. Mandela warned that democracy talks would continue with or without Cosag, formed to counter alleged backstage accords between the African National Congress and the De Klerk government.

He called on the group, in which the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] is a key member, to return to the negotiation forum, "as there is no other way forward".

Cosag staged Tuesday's walkout to focus attention on demands for a federal state. The ANC swiftly condemned the action and remaining participants continued discussions.

Urging the conservatives and federalists to return to negotiations, Mr. Mandela said parties had to be prepared to compromise.

"Nobody enters negotiations if he is not prepared to compromise.

"I urge the Cosag group to accept that spirit and talk to us in that spirit. But if they are going use force, they will have a fight in their hands. We don't want to speak in that language."

The walkout, Mr. Mandela said, was a bid by Cosag to forestall discussion of a date for the first non-racial elections, provisionally scheduled for April next year.

"It is to avoid the inevitable. The hour when all leaders have to face the people cannot be delayed forever," he told 40,000 supporters at the rally.

At least 500 people were killed in the 1976 student uprising which Mr. Mandela said had "marked the beginning of the end of white minority rule".

His speech was disrupted briefly when a police helicopter fluttering past the stadium dropped pamphlets announcing rewards of between R[rand]5,000 and R20,000 for information which would lead to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for an armed robbery on February 2, 1993.

"That is provocation," the ANC leader said as he ordered ANC Youth League officials to call the police to express concern.

Mr. Mandela swept into the stadium amid chants of "kill the Boer, kill the farmer".

With aides swarming around him, he ambled around the stadium and responded to the chants by waving the clenched fist and a broad smile.

But in his speech he hinted the chant might be dropped. He told crowd he would raise the matter in the the ANC National Executive Committee and discuss it with ANC youth leaders. "I understand your anger. You are justified. But we are building a nation," he said adding there was need not to frighten "any community, in order to bring all other people in the peace process".

Earlier, ANC firebrand Peter Mokaba said the chant was "not in defiance of the leadership of the ANC. It is in support of the leadership".

Inkatha Youth Leader Addresses Rally

MB1606134493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1201 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—Negotiation is the only lasting method of ensuring that all South Africans are given the opportunity to have their voices heard and to listen and understand the positions of fellow South Africans, says Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Carter Ndlovu.

In a speech prepared for delivery at a commemoration service in Volsoorus township on the East Rand to mark the 17th anniversary of the June 16 student uprisings, Mr. Ndlovu said violence was not a solution but became part of the problem.

"No South African can say that he or she has not been affected by the political turmoil in South Africa. It is therefore up to us to ensure that this does not continue. We have to break this senseless cycle of violence," he said.

Mr. Ndlovu said it was up to the "transition generation" to see that there was a future South Africa free of intimidation and violence.

"We must ensure that the generations that follow live in a free and democratic society. We must ensure that the youth do not have to face the marginalisation of the class of '76."

Johannesburg 'Quiet'

MB1606180193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Excerpts] A large scale stayaway countrywide marked the 17th anniversary of Soweto Day, but there were no major incidents of violence. Stayaway figures of nearly 100 percent were reported in some areas. There were isolated incidents of stone throwing and arson and one death believed to be linked to the commemoration was reported. Most of the country's major centers were deserted as thousands of people attended rallies in memory of the 1976 student uprising.

[Begin Reporter Nan Roux recording] The center of Johannesburg was quieter than normal today, but most shops were open and it was business as usual. Hundreds of waiting taxis lined the streets of the city or waited at various taxi ranks. However, some shops did close for the day and were all securely locked up. Eloff street, usually crowded with traders and busses, was completely deserted. The only sign of any Soweto Day celebrations was at the City Hall where close on 1,000 ANC [African National Congress | members gathered for a 16 June commemoration service. A handful of traffic officers gathered outside the hall while peace monitors and ANC marshals kept a watchful eye. One organizer said today's service focussed mainly on education, youth action for democratic education and the vote. The chairperson of the ANC's PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region, Tokyo Sexwale, was one of the guest speakers, followed by song and dance numbers by people from the Peter Ngwenya art school in Soweto. The organizers said similar services took place in most townships on the East rand as well as at other major centers across the country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin Reporter Ami Nanackchand recording] ANC National Executive member Harry Gwala, who addressed a rally at Sebokeng before leaving for Vosloorus, said without a powerful army of the masses there could be no peace in the country. Speaking at one of many 16 June commemorative rallies in the Vaal Triangle, Mr. Gwala urged the people to learn to shoot and strengthen their self-defense structures so that they could defend their rights. He said a constitution in itself did not provide defense for the people. People had to defend themselves. Close to 6,000 people, some armed with spears, battle axes, clubs and an assortment of home-made weapons, converged on the local stadium to observe the occasion. [end recording] [Passage omitted]

PAC Official: Continue Armed Struggle

MB1606194593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1900 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Umtata June 16 SAPA—Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] publicity and information director Waters Toboti on Wednesday painted a rather grim picture of South

Alvica's future when he told a June 16 commemoration rally in Umtata, Transkei that "rivers of blood are still to flow in South Africa".

He also called for a donation of R[Rand]20 from employed PAC members to finance the armed struggle of the organisations armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army [APLA].

As Mr. Toboti addressed the crowd, two PAC volunteers went around the stadium collecting money for APLA.

Mr. Toboti said APLA was cash-strapped without foreign funding and needed money to continue the armed struggle while the PAC participated in multiparty negotiations.

He said the PAC was engaged in multiparty negotiations to attain its goal of election to a constituent assembly.

He said the PAC would not distance itself from the activities of APLA, and that, instead, the organisation was planning to close its national office in Johannesburg to wage the armed struggle from the bush.

Mr. Toboti said the National Party and the Democratic Party should not be allowed to campaign for supporters in black areas. He also chanted the controversial African National Congress Youth League slogan "Kill the Boer... Kill the farmer".

APLA regional commander Vuma Tikinca told the crowd his soldiers would continue "hitting the Boers where it hurts most", while the PAC leadership continued to talk to the regime.

"We kill whites not because we hate them, but because of love. We want to take the apartheid demon out of their minds.

"Blacks have been killed since June 16, 1976, and the PAC regards this as a declaration of war," Mr. Tikinca said.

Khoza, Alexander Address Rallies

MB1606200893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] In Vosloorus on the East Rand a senior Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] Transvaal official, Mr. Themba Khoza, expressed his doubt about the proposed date for a general election. Mr. Khoza said the IFP believes that negotiations and decisions on constitutional issues should be dealt before a date for a general election is determined.

[Begin Khoza recording in English] There are some priorities that we need to look at. The issue of the violence is a major priority. I personally cannot go to Phola Park now and campaign for the support and come back alive. You know that. Then how can we ... how can we then turn around and say the elections can be fair and be free. Of course, there is a lot more that needs to be done in the ... in the multiparty conference. There is a lot

more that we need to agree upon. There is a lot more that we need to compromise on and there is a lot more of a give and take situation in the multiparty conference. It is not just a question of getting into multi conference [pauses]... multiparty conference, coming up with a date, whether preparations are sufficient or not then we go for election. I mean we are looking for trouble. [end recording].

In Khayelitsha on the Cape Flats the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] leader, Mr. Benny Alexander, reconfirmed his movement's rejection of the Transitional Executive Council and said this can be equated with a Native Advisory Council. Mr. Alexander alleged that the government will clamp down on PAC and APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] members once this interim council is instituted.

NP Officials Discuss Loss of Support for Party

MB1606174793 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 16 Jun 93 p 6

[Report by Karin Brynard: "NP Fights for Survival"]

[Text] With all its might the National Party [NP] is fighting to get things straight within its supporters corps.

Party leaders, including its chief leader, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, admit that the party is experiencing a slump due to the uncertainty prevailing among its traditional supporters within the white community on its constitutional future.

This week the NP started to fight back.

A special post was created on the State President's Office to communicate actions and decisions to countries abroad.

Investigation

And in the NP caucus, President de Klerk conducted a special investigation to ascertain which members wanted to leave politics and which do not. He obtained three names of people who want to resign for personal reasons. He said one was Mr. Aubrey Thompson of South Coast. The other two names mentioned are those of Dr. Johann Vilonel of Langlaagte and Mr. Cliff Matthee of Durban Point.

"Everything is well at the caucus," he said on Friday at a media conference. "We've had an open discussion and a healthy spirit prevails. We understand any misconceptions that may exist."

The NP Cape leader, Dr. Dawie de Villiers, and the Transvaal leader, Pik Botha, this week tried to explain and stabilize the NP's waning image.

Plea

Mr. Botha has made an urgent plea for patience and understanding of the negotiation process.

"If we did not start the negotiations, there would have been no chance of a new South Africa," he said.

"Three years ago this country was staring bankruptcy in the face. We were totally isolated from the outside world, the violence was about to swamp us and the radical forces were ready for a violent take-over. The ANC's objective had been to over brow the government and not to negotiate.

"Today we can say that we have negotiated for powersharing, strong autonomous regions, a market-oriented economy and proportional representation.

"That we have achieved through negotiation, rather through a civil war which we were heading for."

People Forget

Mr. Botha said that people forget easily how bad things were and do not think of the bloodshed and certain manslaughter which were averted when the government began negotiations.

The NP is fully aware that in the process, it lost support. But it will get back more. Other than the considerable numbers of white, colored and Indians in the country who will support it in an election, it expects to attract about 20 percent of the black voters' corps support.

Frustration, of course

"The frustration and uncertainty among our people is quite natural. It is the first time that we are entering a proportional election. But in the past, there were also elections in which up to 30 MPs did not make themselves available for election. That is natural.

"And there are a big number of prospective candidates in both the white and the black community who want to enter the voters roll. There will be a long waiting list of dynamic, faithful nationalists who will fill any vacancy with immediate effect," Mr. Botha said.

Interview With Law, Order Minister Kriel

MB1606161293 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Jun 93 p 15

[Report on interview with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel by Editor-in-Chief Richard Steyn and Chris Whitfield in Cape Town; date not specified]

[Text] Picture this: Hernus Kriel, the rebel "leftist", being expelled from the National Party [NP] for espousing views that are radical and shocking to his peers. And on the executive of the NP branch that boots him out is none other than Jannie Momberg, now a member of the ANC [African National Congress].

Unlikely as it may sound, it happened. During Kriel's years as a law student at the University of Stellenbosch, he and three friends had published a pamphlet called Pro Libertate which scandalised the conservative-minded

campus. "What we asked in those days was that we should use white capital to develop the black homelands and that coloureds and Indians be directly represented in Parliament," Kriel recalled in an interview with The Star.

"Obviously that was totally unacceptable at that stage and they kicked us out of the National Party because of these liberal views. Jannie Momberg was part of it (the local NP executive) and we still have quite a few jokes about it from time to time."

Today, the two still find occasion to differ sharply on politics, but Momberg is an ANC member and MP for Simon's Town while Kriel is the sometimes controversial Law and Order Minister. But is Kriel the hawk of popular legend or does a dove still flutter beneath the brash exterior? Here are his views.

On his image

"I think to describe me as a hawk would not be correct for the simple reason that it has not been my life philosophy at all. My philosophy in life is one of balance.

"I don't think it's fair to term me a hawk because 'hawk' does not portray balance. Obviously, because I have the line function of Law and Order, it can give me the image of a hawk. It is my duty to try, to the best of my ability, to manage the police in such a way that we can maintain law and order. But when it comes to the negotiating process, really, I think that is a misnomer."

On his role model

"There are characteristics in a number of people that I admire.

"If I were to (define) myself, I am more of a pragmatist than anything else, because I think that in pragmatism there is a lot of balance.

"I am very scared of great ideologies because great ideologies normally lead to some sort of imbalance.

"You cannot achieve anything if you stay on the periphery of things and if you want to bring about change you have to work within a structure".

On the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] swoop

"When I came to the police I followed a philosophy which I think is a correct one: that the police must not be manipulated by politicians. So there's a strict division between what the police do and my job as Minister of Law and Order. Obviously I will ask the police: 'This APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] thing is getting out of hand, do something about it. They're killing people....' Police came to me and said they had done this investigation and it was time for them to act. When I represented the Government at the multiparty conference (special sitting on the swoop) the real issue was

....whether people with an official policy, put into practice, to kill policemen and to kill civilians are entitled to sit around that table nobody attacked me on that basic, fundamental point."

On violence

"I believe it is in the interests of everybody in this country that the negotiating process and the future elections should take place in an atmosphere of stability. That is why I am so serious about law and order. It's not a question of being a hawk, it's a question that if we want to achieve full democracy and maintain it, then we have to have stability. Otherwise we are going to have anarchy.

"What we are trying to handle from a police point of view are the symptoms and not the causes of violence. (The police) cannot really address the root causes of violence in this country, and there are many. But I still believe the major one—and I am borne out in this by the findings of the Goldstone Commission—is the political rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC.

"I have been pleading now for years for Buthelezi and Mandela to met, to come to an agreement to stop this fighting between their supporters. I believe the arms caches and the arms of, specifically, MK [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] should be under multiparty control or independent control—I don't want to control them, neither does the Government.

"We just want them to be under control. I don't think MK has got any control any longer over their weapons. We've caught, over the last year or so, more than 50 MK people involved in criminal activities. It's not a vendetta I have against MK, it's really a sincere belief that if we can get those weapons under control it will be a major contributing factor to bringing down the level of violence in our country."

On his reported desire to replace Dawie de Villiers as Cape NP leader

"Please put it on record: I have no further aspirations. To me it was an achievement to become a Minister. I am completely happy with that situation. "I am not interested in challenging Dawie de Villiers for the leadership in the Cape.

"We have been friends since Stellenbosch. When Dawie became leader of the Cape I was one of his main organisers.

"It would be a hell of a dirty trick to play on Dawie to do such a thing.

"Apart from the fact that I don't think I could win—his standing in the Cape is very, very strong—to say that I have aspirations in that field is utter nonsense."

On the threat of the right wing

"I think that suddenly there is a realisation in the midst of the Left's extremists that they will have to start considering what is the position of the Right's extremists, and from that point of view that has bought some sanity to the Left extremists. I am not saying it is a good thing that is happening, but it is something that you cannot ignore. You will have to deal with both these sides. Left- wing extremists are a Sunday-school picnic compared to what the Right can do."

On reforming the police force

"It's now a question of implementing those goals we set ourselves (of an impartial, streamlined and bettermanaged police force). We have completed the restructuring of the management of the police by bringing in quite a number of younger generals. We have established the community relations leg of the police and it is being implemented. Where it's being implemented we already see crime coming down and a better relationship with the community. But it's a process. You can't do it overnight because of manpower."

On the shape of a future police force

"Our viewpoint, obviously to be negotiated, is a threetier system of policing. With a sort of central police force—a sort of FBI—that only deals on a nationwide basis with very serious across-border crimes, that deals with forensics, that deals with finger-printing, that deals with training.

"But from there, within federal states they would have their own police force, their own command and obviously ... the existing self- governing and independent states' police forces would have to be integrated with the SAP [South African Police].

"We also believe that for less serious crimes, especially in the metropolitan areas, you will also have to look at a metropolitan police situation. We are ready to do (all) that. We have done our planning."

On whether the PAC leadership is aware of APLA's activities:

"There is no doubt in my mind that they know what they (APLA) are doing. Whether they know in advance, that I cannot comment on at this stage. (The PAC) are trying to catch the support of the real extremists in black politics. But at the same time they don't want to miss out on the advantages of negotiations. So they want to have their cake and eat it. That is just not good enough.

"I also have a problem with the attitude of the ANC. They suspended (the armed struggle for negotiations). But when I and the Government demanded the same attitude from the PAC they denied that principle and supported the PAC, because they are dead scared of the PAC. They don't want to antagonise them. I think that is politically immoral."

On why the president was told of the PAC raid only on he evening before

"The State President has acknowledged that I informed him of the raid. I was informed that afternoon (before the raid the next morning) by the police, and we discussed it. I was busy handling my vote in Parliament. After the adjournment of the House, I phoned the president to inform him that it was going to happen. He wasn't in. When he came back, his office phoned me and I said to him what the position was, and he accepted it."

On his biggest frustration

"Time. That we haven't got eight days in a week because it is just not possible to do everything as quickly as we like"

On his personal relations with the ANC

"I have good relations with all of them. Cyril (Ramaphosa) was just being naughty (when he chastised Kriel at the World Trade Centre meeting). That was plain politicking.

"I think he went overboard, but you see the messenger that brought the bad news had to be killed. I brought bad news to the negotiating table."

On whether, if he could go back to the week of the PAC swoop, he would handle it differently

"No. I am satisfied with the way (it went). I am satisfied especially at the results we have achieved subsequently. (The action that we took prevented the loss of many, many (lives)—in Yeoville (where an alleged attack was foiled)...the police action stemmed directly from information obtained from people that were arrested.

"Can you imagine what would have happened if that bomb had gone off in that place where they tell me all the white yuppies of the ANC hang out."

16 June Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries MB1606135593

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Labor Management Lessons—The page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 June refers to the Shoprite Checkers strike which ended on 14 June, saying: "Needing desperately to reverse a downward trend, the company applied the sort of business principles that make managers look brilliant in successful market economies. But closing unprofitable stores and cutting jobs meant bringing the union into line." The outcome was "a prolonged strike, hundreds of arrests, police involvement, a consumer boycott, an embarrassing climbdown by the chain." The message to business is that however managers may regard their budgeting options, "workers are increasingly unwilling to have their jobs treated as a company's first line of attack

when times get tough. This point in our history is different from elsewhere. This is our era of restructuring and, like it or not, of a greater measure of redistribution than privileged South Africa will ever feel comfortable with."

BUSINESS DAY

New Meaning to 16 June-Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 16 June in a page 6 editorial notes that "black South Africans" will always commemorate 16 June, the day of the Soweto student uprisings, and "their leaders are already stressing that this should be done in a solemn and dignified way." However, the "new majority leadership, many of whom were at the forefront of the mass mobilisation exercises in 1976 and in the following 15 years, need to acknowledge that however necessary those strategies may have been, they took a heavy toll. This was not only in terms of thousands of lives lost, but in the collapse of the education system, the cheapening of human life, diminished parental authority, and even the partial disintegration of society. South Africa needs a new dedication to a nonracial society and to the social values required to sustain it. That must be the meaning of June 16 in the years ahead."

BEELD

PAC 'Prepared To Negotiate Compromise'—The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) is beginning to show signs that it is "prepared to negotiate a compromise with the government once they reach agreement on ending mutual hostilities," says Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 11 June in a page 6 editorial. "By that we see an agreement to jointly control the security forces and private armies, and hopefully PAC membership in the Transitional Executive Council [TEC]." "The PAC as a member of the TEC will then not be able to maintain the armed struggle againts itself. If it nevertheless decides to continue the armed struggle, it is then the moral right of the Government and all the other parties to exclude it from the negotiations process."

Electorate Uncertainty-"Important steps which will irrevocably change South Africa lie in the weeks ahead. The election date must be determined by the end of this month and the Transitional Executive Council could soon be in action," notes Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 14 June in a page 8 editorial. "Political leaders acknowledge that there is a lot of uncertainty among the electorate. It is not only the daily risks which are causing concern, but also the greater changes which could increase personal, group and national risks." "We believe the Negotiations Forum has done a good job but failed in one aspect: to make the electorate understand the complexity of its task. There is no collective or individual communication whatsoever. Why is this important? Simply because it is the electorate, irrespective of party affiliation, who eventually will have to support these changes."

17 June Review

MB1706120993

[Editorial Report] THE CITIZEN

De Klerk Cannot Ignore Afrikaner Desire for Self-Determination-Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 16 June in its page 6 editorial declares it is "sorry" President de Klerk "talks of the Right as if it is a lunatic fringe." The Right consists of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner National Union, "which consists mainly of Afrikaners who are products of the very Afrikaner nationalism that brought the Nationalist Party to power-and kept it in power for 45 years." President de Klerk is losing Afrikaner support, "and these are his people, his volk, and he can no more turn his back on them than he can turn his back on his own culture and traditions." THE CITIZEN says there are reports the government "is poised to propose a separate geographical region within a single South African state where self-determination can be addressed. This is perhaps an acknowledgement by Mr. de Klerk that he cannot ignore the desire for self-determination of the majority of Afrikaners."

THE STAR

Need To Maintain Trade Relations With Taiwan—The People's Republic of China wants South Africa to "switch diplomatic relations," notes a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 17 June. "More importantly (for politics is now secondary to trade) it wants our mining technology, our minerals from iron ore to god (in 1992 China was the world's largest gold consumer), our market for light and heavy industry, our gateway to Africa. South Africa is learning patience and pragmatism from China. Diplomatic relations can wait; trade cannot. President de Klerk owes Taiwan past loyalties, Nelson Mandela still insists on partial sanctions. It seems that the right time to switch diplomatic relations will be when democratic elections are held, but until then every trade opportunity should be seized."

BUSINESS DAY

'Hazy "Make-Good" Schemes' To Help Black Communities—"There is great compulsion all round to 'do something' for black communities because of the deprivations of the apartheid years, and the latest example is the appeal by Local Government Minister Tertius Delport for white local authorities to set aside about 10 percent of their revenue for projects in neighbouring black areas," notes a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 17 June. But there is "uneasiness" about the idea, because "there are no structures in place through which the money can be channeled. Nor are there sufficiently credible authorities to decide on what the projects should be." Similarly, the Development Bank of Southern Africa, which has about 500 million rand available for projects in black communities, "cannot act on its own, and is unsure of the

channels to use." BUSINESS DAY believes "it would make more sense to establish the ground before embarking on hazy 'make-good' schemes."

SOWETAN

'Too Many People' at Multiparty Talks—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 17 June in a page 8 editorial says that from the start the multiparty talks "were encumbered with too many people who have no constituency to speak of." "The walkout started by the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] was always on the cards. The determination of the ANC [African National Congress] and the Government to set a date for the elections—a political gambit to keep their constituencies happy and intact—was the last straw leading to the walkout." However, the process "cannot be jettisoned at this stage. It has gone too far for that. Some very creative thinking will have to be done to make sense out of the mess. The only consolation we have is that democracies are often born out of such irreconcilable positions and chaos."

REFLD

ANC, Farmers Cooperation—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 14 June notes in a page 8 editorial: "From a highly emotional racial confrontation to reason and understanding—that is how the atmosphere between the ANC and South Africa's farmers changed last week. For this both parties deserve credit: the ANC for expressing its concern that farmers were being driven from their farms by murderous attacks, and for condemning the

attacks, and sympathizing with the victims, and banning its murder slogan; and the farmers of the Free State Agricultural Union for accepting that cooperation with the security forces and politicians remains the best answer, better than ultimatums, mass action, and threats of revenge. This does not mean all the problems are solved," warns BEELD. "Nevertheless, the ANC and the farmers are helping to create an atmosphere in which further progress can be made in improving attitudes, and in which cooperation can take place to combat the violence against the farmers."

U.S. Capital Can Help RSA Economy—A second editorial on the same page of BEELD says: "South Africans will probably look askance at the announcement that, once an interim government is in place in the country and an election date has been set, President Bill Clinton will declare South Africa free of apartheid. Who appointed him to issue a certificate about us, one is tempted to ask. We certainly do not need Americans to tell us when our country has officially rid itself of apartheid; we can do it ourselves. But that's the way Americans conduct their politics, and we cannot change it. What South Africa must do is look beyond the political theatrics and ask what concrete results there will be for this country once the official certificate of political cleanliness has been issued. If President Clinton's declaration will make it easier for U. S. development capital to flow to South Africa, then we may as well endure our irritation at this bit of their arrogance.'

Angola

Huambo: Foreigners Not Held Hostage, Enjoy Freedom

MB1606070993 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] The Portuguese, Cape Verdean, and other communities in Huambo enjoy the same freedoms that are bestowed on Angolan citizens. Sources in the office of Huambo Provincial Governor Dr. Jeronimo Hwanga say reports that Huambo-based foreigners are bei?g held hostage amount to nothing more than cheap communist propaganda. It should be noted that those foreigners, mostly Portuguese citizens, have been visited by the International Committee of the Red Cross and Caritas less than one week ago.

Red Cross Trip to Huambo 'Exception'

MB1706084493 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Excerpt] The Angolan Government believes that humanitarian aid to people in need must be supplied in terms of the general UN plan. Norberto dos Santos, minister for assistance and social reintegration, has said that humanitarian aid must be taken to every corner of Angolan territory. In his opinion, the Red Cross trip to Huambo must be seen as the exception. He added the next such trip will only occur once grants have also been made available to other areas in need. Within that context, Minister Norberto dos Santos has been contacting international organizations with a view to granting aid to Bie and Cuando Cubango Provinces. [passage omitted]

UNITA Commentary Decries Moco's Assembly Speech

MB1606110893 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] government is in its death throes. Angolans and the world were yesterday entertained with a farce starring Prime Minister Marcolino Moco and his puppet parliament. Like a man groping in the dark, Prime Minister Marcolino Moco told Parliament his puppet government will be adopting drastic measures. Likewise, he advised Parliament to fulfill its role as an institution which, because it is unable to reject anything, endorses and approves the decrees issued by the communist MPLA-PT government. According to Moco, this is so that the serious situation facing the country can be brought to an end.

After analyzing Moco's sorry speech, many people reached the following conclusions: First, that confusion and despair within the communist MPLA-PT ranks are so obvious that the poor man seems not to know exactly

what he wants and, second, that divisions within the communist MPLA-PT are so deeply rooted that Prime Minister Marcolino is now isolated, so much so 'hat both the Futungo de Belas Palace and the military now want to use him as a scapegoat for the chaotic situation facing the communist MPLA-PT regime. Discord within the MPLA-PT government is so visible that even the communist Luanda regime is incapable of finding the right words to describe the dictatorial measures it intends to adopt in order to repress the Angolan people.

First, they said they wanted to decree a state of siege, then a state of emergency—now, they want to introduce drastic measures. The truth, though, is that Angola under the MPLA-PT has always been the target for state of emergency measures. What the communist MPLA-PT now seeks to do is to try and repress a popular uprising by the Angolan nation as a whole against bloodthirsty governance. In its attempts to do so, the MPLA-PT resembles a man near drowning desperately trying to hold on to any floating object.

The wave of popular uprisings against the tyrannical, genocidal, and intolerant behavior which have characterized the MPLA-PT's 18 years of poor governance, is unstoppable. It is rather ridiculous for the communist MPLA regime to be talking about drastic measures when it is well known that it only controls an insignificant portion of Angolan territory. In view of that, why are those measures being introduced and for whose sake?

Given its declared policy of a systematic and premeditated extermination of other Angolan people, which came into force on 31 October of last year, only the communist MPLA-PT regime is to blame for everything which is taking place in Angola today. The communist MPLA-PT regime sowed the wind. Now, it is reaping a storm.

It was the communist MPLA-PT regime which rejected—and continues to reject—the hand of peace and reconciliation which UNITA has proffered. Instead, it has chosen a military solution to the Angolan conflict. As the old proverb says, you should not throw stones if your house has a glass roof. By the same token, if you cannot take blows, you should not be delivering them, either.

In view of all this, the MPLA-PT should confront Angola's reality head on and accept that only dialogue can bring lasting peace and national reconciliation to this country. Only when the communist MPLA-PT regime has learned to coexist with other Angolans of different political viewpoints and it has learned to treat other Angolans as equals, will Angola finally enjoy lasting peace. To continue resorting to old totalitarian ploys in a bid to prevent popular uprisings against the injustices experienced in the country at this stage, will only worsen matters.

Mr. Marcolino Moco, along with all his communist colleagues, have failed quite shamefully. The least they can do is resign and make way for a truly democratic regime which will represent the interests of all Angolan people.

UNITA's Valentim Holds News Conference

LD1606131393 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 1100 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Virgilio Proenca on a news conference by Jorge Valentim, UNITA information minister and head of the UNITA delegation at the Abidjan talks, in Brussels on 16 June]

[Text] [Proenca] Jorge Valentim, head of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegation at the Abidjan talks and minister for information, accused the Portuguese Government of making a pact with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], and he went as far as accusing Lisbon of being involved in the Huambo battle with war materiel and Portuguese military advisers. In a severe tone and (?not in his style), he accused Portuguese journalists of manipulating information about what is happening in Angola and in Huambo, in particular, where there are Italians, Portuguese, and Brazilians who should—according to Valentim—even thank his party for its hospitality.

Valentim reiterated that he wanted peace for his country. Therefore, [words indistinct] forthcoming Belgian EC presidency, because he was received here in Brussels at the Foreign Ministry. This was the case in Germany, France, and Italy where, according to his words, he was promised that the EC would, beginning 1 July, do its utmost to obtain peace for Angola.

When asked when the Portuguese would leave Huambo—in view of the fact that yesterday an International Red Cross plane arrived in that city to collect the body of a Portuguese citizen—Valentim answered:

[Begin Valentim recording] It would be a good thing if this debate about the Portuguese in Huambo would follow a calmer, more dignified path. The UNITA delegation would be willing to discuss a more discrete diplomacy with the Portuguese delegation, because what is being heard now sounds like an African proverb that says that a tree wants to hide the forest. In political terms, this leads us to believe that a wave is being created to cover up a mistaken policy that was followed for a long time—which is the policy of systematically aiding the MPLA government.

We have no conflict whatsoever with the Portuguese people. We are brothers, and we reiterate here on behalf of the UNITA leadership: The Portuguese were discovered by the Portuguese Government 55 days and nights after the Huambo battle. We do not know who intervened on the side of the government and who made the statements in favor of the government.

If the Portuguese who lived in the high area of Capambo are still alive, it is thanks to the humanism of the Angolans. UNITA Angolans see the Portuguese as brothers and even share their food spontaneously. We would like to give assurances that the Portuguese will find, at the right time, find their way to the country that [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Proenca] After giving a history of UNITA since last year's elections, Valentim reiterated that he did not accept the election results; however, he does want peace. He solemnly warned President Clinton that if he recognizes and sells arms to the Luanda government, he will be defeated in the U.S. Congress and Senate.

As for the UN Security Council, Valentim described it as very radical. Therefore, he now trusts the EC more.

Dos Santos on Relations With U.S., Peace Talks

MB1606201393 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Angolan head of state Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in Luanda today that diplomatic relations between the United States and Angola will be a reality soon. Speaking to Luanda Radio Nacional and the Angolan People's Television, the president of the Republic said he received a letter today from U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher requesting the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The Angolan head of state said this step is the result of the diplomatic offensive mounted by the Angolan Government.

[Begin recording] [Dos Santos] The offensive we are mounting in different countries of the world [words indistinct] is aimed at conveying our message of peace, harmony, and national reconciliation, and our desire to live in democracy, to all corners of the world. Just today I received a letter from the U.S. secretary of state proposing the establishment of diplomatic relations between Angola and the United States. This is a significant step. It means that we are following the right path and our message is being understood by the world. It is therefore time for us Angolans to find ways and strength to defend our interests and achieve our aspirations.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, the speech made by the prime minister of the republic the day before yesterday [14 June] clearly shows that more than [words indistinct].

[Dos Santos] Well, I would not say that the government will launch an offensive. I think the government took note of the need to improve the position of the Angolan Armed Forces on the battlefield, because the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has abandoned peace talks, it refuses to sign the Abidjan Protocol of Understanding, and it challenges the international community and every good will of the Angolan

people. Hence, there is no other alternative for us than to show Mr. Savimbi and UNITA that we too are men and have a say.

[Announcer] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was also asked to comment on the negotiations between the government and UNITA, having answered that everything depends on UNITA's stand regarding the Abidjan protocol.

[Dos Santos] On talks with UNITA, it is obvious that everything depends on his [Savimbi's] attitude regarding the Abidjan protocol, that means on signing the Abidjan protocol. If Dr. Savimbi instructs his delegation or the UNITA delegation to sign the protocol which has has been negotiated in Abidjan, without amendments, we shall be ready to go there and sign so that peace can return to our country immediately?

[Reporter] Without amendments?

[Dos Santos] Without amendments. [end recording]

FALA Sources Deny Raids Into Namibia

MB1706073593 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Sources in the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] General Staff have rejected allegations concerning FALA raids into the neighboring Republic of Namibia. Press attaches with the FALA General Staff have sent a note to the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel saying that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola forces have always sought to build stability along the borders so as to ensure healthy relations with its neighbors Namibia, Zambia, and Zaire. Those sources have assured Angolan and international media to avoid spreading false reports. The note says such media reports can help disrupt relations between forces controlling both sides of the border.

Nazaidia's Nujoma Notes Savimbi 'Aggression'

MB1606105193 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 15 Jun 93

[Text] Namibian Head of State Sam Nujoma is to provide Bill Clinton, his U.S. counterpart, with an account of the Angolan situation since the resumption of war. The Namibian president, who stopped over in Luanda yesterday, was briefed by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on the exact situation experienced in Angola at this juncture.

[Begin recording] [Nujorna, in English with passage-by-passage translation to Portuguese] We are aware of the fact that, at the present moment, the people of Angola are going through great difficulties as a result of the aggression being waged by Savimbi and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] against the Angolan people, after the people of Angola had participated in free and fair elections, and had elected their deputies. UNITA and Savimbi have

rejected the outcome of those elections, in which the Angolan people freely expressed their will. It is for that reason that we have come here. We have come to ask: How are you, brothers and sisters?

[Unidentified reporter] Are you taking any particular message from President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to President Bill Clinton?

[Nujoma] Certainly, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and all of us are happy that the Clinton administration has extended diplomatic recognition to the Angolan Government. Of course, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is also sending his greetings to President Clinton. I will have the pleasure of relaying those greetings. [end recording]

* Effects of War on Luanda, Environs

93AF0621A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 15 May 93 pp 32-33

[Article by Celestino Amaral]

[Excerpt] As we leave the city behind, the countryside's state of abandonment increases. We have not yet traveled north 20 kms from downtown Luanda, but everything has suddenly changed. It is as if we had entered another world, one seemingly created for a war movie, with the actors and extras taking a break from the filming to relax and recover their strength for the next scene.

We are going to Mabubas, an important dam site recently recaptured by the government and now occupied by army troops. Behind it is the Roque Santeiro, a gigantic daily market, belonging to the city and engaging in parallel trade, the industrial zone of Petrangol and its thousands of unemployed sitting in the shade of the partially destroyed walls, and the Cacuaco, an ancient fishing and recreation area for the locals, now off-limits to civilians.

The road crosses completely abandoned fields, to which the recent rains have lent a green shade that implies unexploited agricultural prosperity. A few young soldiers in dark brown uniforms, some armed and others not, stand aside to let us pass. We cross improvised iron bridges that replace the originals, which were destroyed by successive battles. No military roadblock forces our jeep to stop. The vehicle, belonging to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], is as well-known as the two political commissars traveling in the front seats, which allows us to dispense with the need to present credentials.

The first stop is in Caxito, a small town surrounded by uninhabited huts and occupied for five months by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] troops. It is here, to the north, that the edge of the Luanda security zone begins and ends. So close, if the city is being attacked, yet so far in times of peace.

Looking around, one cannot easily tell if one is at war or under a truce. The few civilians who slowly stroll the streets have a calm and unconcerned air about them. But perhaps it is the presence of the soldiers with whom they are permanently in contact, that lends them that apparent calm.

Caxito is like a ghost town. The doors and windows of the houses, the shops, and the bank are broken and full of holes. The former headquarters of UNITA and the MPLA, the government delegations, the walls, and the road, show the impact of the bullets that for several months dictated a reign of terror.

The government party, which provided us with transportation and guides, has organized the visit well: three citizens are waiting, to recount for us the horrors of the occupation. They talk of intimidation, of cadavers floating in the river, of the stealing of medicine and mattresses from the hospital; they explain, with undisguised pride, how they eluded Savimbi's troops, how they maintained a dialog with their UNITA "brothers," and more sadly, how the latter took with them the youngest women, who gave their bodies, some forcibly, others freely.

Sometimes we pass groups of soldiers and old women with colored scarves and bundles on their heads. Everyone greets "old" Simao, a driving instructor with no students, a yellowed regulation manual under his arm, speaking wittily and kindly. The old ladies, referred to deferentially as "grandmother," are returning to the houses they fled, on the Luanda road, at the beginning of the conflict.

We visited the hospital, where dozens of women and children wait their turn to be treated by improvising nurses, who diagnose the obvious malaria, cholera, or measles. We left the establishment, which is distinguished from the other buildings by its lack of evidence of bullets and its display of a cloth with a red cross drawn on it, with a lump in our throats and the memory of a pestilential stench, reinforcing the image of the suffering sick.

Beginning at Kinfangondo, the mythical name of a series of seminal battles from colonial times, the scene changes abruptly again. The road becomes almost impassable and completely deserted. Occasionally an old military car passes by, from which the occupants look at us questioningly. A fuel transport truck lies at the side of the road, with no motor. Farther on, an army jeep with Portuguese markings, irreparably broken down, evokes other times and other wars.

A quick visit to Mabubas, the capital's energy transformation facility, now converted into a fort where the soldiers, organized as if they were in a barracks, feed themselves daily from the fish they catch themselves off the dam, along with cooked rice. The prohibition on taking pictures and speaking with soldiers hastens our return to Luanda.

We left the danger zone at high speed, congratulating ourselves at not having been caught in the middle of one of UNITA's frequent attacks. The atmosphere of tension that prevailed inside the vehicle during the trip out clears up gradually, as we pass the Kinfangondo and Cacuaco military roadblocks.

Days before, we were in Benguela, Catumbela, and Lobito, where the atmosphere was very similar to the one in Caxito. Traveling by car between the three cities on the central plain, near Huambo, the center of all the conflict, we encountered the same type of human drama: interminable groups of women and children at the edge of the road and the Benguela railroad, in a sorrowful pilgrimage back to the homes which they do not even know still exist.

The effects of the recent war are felt more in Benguela than any other place in Angola, except Huambo. Out of the violent fighting that took place within the city came the total destruction of neighborhoods, party headquarters, barracks, cars, hotels, and shops. The number of dead and wounded from the war is immeasurable.

It was to Benguela, Lobito, and particularly Caimbambo, that almost all the Huambo war refugees were flowing. Set up in tents, there are more than 2 million people needing emergency food aid, according to UN World Food Program Operations Director Philipe Borel: 1.25 million because of the war, 344,000 dislocated, 112,000 returning from Zambia and Zaire, and 265,000 affected by the drought.

The problem of the refugees, who also congegrate on the outskirts of Luanda and other zones controlled by the government in the north, is further complicating the country's already difficult subsistence economy. The activities of the various humanitarian organizations operating in Angola, being vital, do not resolve the basic problem: as long as the war continues, no one can reorganize his life. And agriculture in the south, which provided enough for practically the entire country to eat, is now completely paralyzed.

Everything is temporary in the zones controlled by the government. In the cities we visited, only the markets are functioning, full of canned products, probably diverted from the containers of food aid, the schools where the students wear immaculate smocks over torn clothes and starving bodies, and some shops, empty of merchandise and customers.

Civil construction or reconstruction is paralyzed for lack of materials, industry does not operate for lack of raw materials to transform and power to operate their machinery, cars do not circulate for lack of fuel and spare parts, and public transport, purely and simply, does not exist.

It is possible that Luanda is the city that has most deeply felt the crisis caused by the war that the administration, without resources, is incapable of facing. The national budget, for which the major item at this time goes to reorganizing and equipping the armed forces, has as its only source of revenue oil exports, now that the diamond mines and coffee plantations, situated in regions occupied by UNITA, are in an unproductive state.

The Angolan capital is sitting on several powderkegs that could explode at any time. And not even the media's systematic criticism of the acts of sabotage by Jonas Savimbi's group against targets vital to the city's power supply helps calm the spirits of the citizens.

The rains, which are now starting to fall, fill the streets, flood houses, knock over trees, bring with them deadly diseases. The fault is laid on the waters, but the problem is lack of basic sanitation in the streets full of holes, the abandonment to which the trees were left, and the garbage that accumulates in every corner.

Meanwhile, Luanda is bubbling during the day with merchants of various nationalities, and at least some of them are making great fortunes off the war. It is the law of every man for himself, in a country where investment has no guarantee and it is thus necessary to earn money as fast as possible, to be immediately transformed into funds to export.

It is for that reason that currently the most prosperous business is the parallel market for capital—controlled behind the scenes by nameless and faceless Indians and Pakistanis. Illegal money changing, practically in broad daylight, is so pervasive that the same dollar exchanged in a bank for 4,000 kwanzas [Kz], trades for Kz14,000 in the street.

The conditions of general poverty (a journalist, for example, does not have the money to buy cigarettes) generates a considerable increase in corruption and criminality that undermines the very security forces and the administration of the state: Complaints by owners of vehicles stolen in parks guarded by the police, and cases where armed robbers are members of the public security forces are frequent.

The highest salary in the public sector—the only significant employer—corresponds to the president of the Republic, and is Kz2.5 million, while the lowest, for an unspecialized worker, is around 120,000. With the shortage of food and the constantly rising prices, no one is able to live on what they earn.

It is sufficient to say, for example, that bread, subsidized by the State and sold in government bakeries at Kz250, gets to the parallel market, the only place where it can in fact be acquired, at Kz2,500 to 3,000. And a desert of fungi (a traditional dish) for an average family is, given the prices from the market in S. Paulo, around Kz185,000—more than a laborer's monthly salary.

For that reason it is not surprising that there has been an increasingly violent gap widening between the civilian population, with the police giving a little help, and the corruption in the State apparatus itself. Every foreign economic group operating in Angola has its own contacts

in the presidential palace or the ministerial cabinets where the great decisions are made. The situation is such that it can be said that the political factions or groups opposing each other in the party in power do it more for the economic interests they support than for ideological motivation.

Malawi

Further Reportage, Reaction to Multiparty Referendum

Opposition Nets 63.5 Percent

MB1606064393 Johannesburg Radvo South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] The referendum commission in Malawi says groups advocating a multiparty democracy in Malawi have won the referendum on the issue with 63.5 percent of the vote. The commission will release the official results later today. The opposition is demanding that President Kamuzu Banda make way for a coalition of national unity.

Opposition Leader Claims Victory

MB1606113693 London BBC World Service in English 0600 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Network Africa" program presented by Julian Marshall]

[Text] We should know in a few hours' time from Malawi what has become increasingly apparent over the past few [words indistinct] that most people there want an end to the one-party dictatorship of President Kamuzu Banda. There has yet to be an official announcement, but all indications are that the result of the referendum will show that nearly two thirds of those who voted in the referendum did favor the introduction of a multiparty democracy, which is good news for Chakufwa Chihana, leader of the opposition Alliance [for Democracy, Aford], which campaigned for such a result. On the line to Blantyre, I asked him how he felt about the outcome.

[Begin recording] [Chihana] My reaction is that the people of Malawi have rejected the one-party state. It was ruthless, cruel, and brutal, and they have opted for a democratic Malawi and there is no way we can go back to 1964. I can assure you the mood here is that Malawians are ready for change.

[Marshall] What then do you expect the government to

[Chihana] The choice is with Dr. Banda and I know Dr. Banda is in a dilemma because he is an old man, of advanced age. I do not know whether he has been told that the situation has changed. If I were Dr. Banda, I would just retire and go back and live at the village.

[Marshall] So you would like President Banda to step aside and appoint a new prime minister to form a government?

[Chihana] That would be a very wonderful option. If Dr. Banda were to stay in power [words indistinct] only Dr. Banda remaining as a ceremonial president to preside over a transitional period and then appoint an executive prime minister who would appoint the Council of Ministers to draft the new Constitution, and have presidential and parliament elections, probably in the middle of next year or late this year.

[Marshall] Are you suggesting perhaps that President Banda is not in the position to make decisions at the moment and that his advisers might not accept this result?

[Chihana] I think the problem is not for Dr. Banda. I think it is his advisers who are digging their heels, because I think they feel very insecure to live a democratic state. They have lived in an abnormal system and they enjoy living in an abnormal system. They do not have any other way to compare their system and another system. We, in Malawi, now are saying that we do not want to live in an abnormal system.

[Marshall] But speaking as somebody who was imprisoned by President Banda, do you feel personal bitterness toward him?

[Chihana] No, I like him. As a person, Dr. Banda I think he is ... [pauses, changes thought] he has a sense of humor. He is a Malawian like myself. I would definitely accommodate him as an ordinary citizen. He had his day. I think that is it, but I have suffered with that bitterness. I have learned how to forgive, but I will not forget the scars of suffering, but I am speaking as Chihana, an individual, but Malawians have said no to Dr. Banda, which means that they have had enough of him and he must be able to say: Well, I have been rejected and I have no choice. He is not Malawi. He is an individual, like any other Malawi, so I cannot say I want to stay in power because I have been life president [words indistinct] life president. The man is finished. After all, the Malawi Congress Party is now moribund. It is a skeleton party, it has been deserted, abandoned. So, it means things have changed. They have changed for the better for the majority and for the worst for Dr. Banda. [end recording]

Opposition Leader on Results

MB1606172693 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It looks like the end of an era in Malawi. On Monday [14 June] voters cast their ballots for or against the multiparty system of government after decades of one party rule under President Banda. The result was announced this morning and this is how Malawians heard the news on their radios.

[Begin Malawi Radio recording] In the national referendum which was held on Monday [14 June] this week on whether Malawi should remain a one-party state or adopt a multiparty system of government, Malawians have voted in favor of the adoption of a multiparty system. This was announced in Lilongwe today by the National Referendum Commission. The announcement said 1,993,996 voted in favor of the establishment of the multiparty system of government, while 1,088,473 voted for the continuation of the one-party system. The announcement said the figures for the multiparty voters represented 63 percent of the national results. [end recording]

So, victory for the multipartyists, and there were instant celebrations on the streets of Blantyre and it was clear what the demonstrators believed the vote means:

[Begin demonstrators recording] No more Banda. [repeated nine times] [end recording]

So, quite a day for the pro-democracy parties in Malawi, but there are many questions unanswered. How will they deal with their victory, and will the government actually let go, for example? On the line to Blantyre, Robin White asked Edward Bwanali, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, UDF, what the mood was where he was.

[Bwanali] All over the road now we can see cars and people going up and down, shouting victory, victory. I suppose this celebration will go for a longer time because now many people are in their offices, but I think after five o'clock [1500 GMT] there is going to be real huge crowds on the road and it is throughout the country the way we hear it is happening.

[White] What do you think should happen now?

[Bwanali] Well, we expect sometime this evening, hopefully the life president will tell us where we go from here. On our part, we have already given a document to government on what the transitional arrangements should be. We expect that the government are going to be serious about the results, and that government will respect the will of the people, and that the transitional arrangements will be to the benefit of all Malawians.

[White] Do you want some kind of interim government set up with your party in it?

[Bwanali] Well, we have called, first of all as you know, we are not yet political parties, we are still called pressure groups. Now, what we have called for is that transitional government be put in place that will be charged with the responsibility of preparing for a new constitution and the United Democratic Front has called for that to be put in place immediately, and that parliamentary general elections be conducted before Christmas this year.

[White] Would you be happy for the life president to stay on in this interim period?

[Bwanali] This question has been asked us several times. What we have said is firstly we had expected that the life president would be neutral in this whole exercise. It pleased him to take sides and, as life president of the Malawi Congress Party, he is a very interested person. What role he plays in the future, I think will be determined by what has happened in the past.

[White] But you haven't quite answered the question. Would you be happy for him to stay on as leader of an interim government, if and when such a government is set up?

[Bwanali] That could be talked about. [end recording]

Ntaba Comments on Results

MB1606193793 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The referendum must almost be a bitter pill for the MCP [Malawi Congress Party] government to swallow. They have been quiet about it all day, but a few minutes ago Audrey Brown got through to government spokesman Heatherwick Ntaba and asked him if he was satisfied with the result.

[Begin recording] [Ntaba] I don't know what you mean by being satisfied. If that means: Am I pleased with the results, definitely no. It is not what I would have liked to see. But the results are there and we accept them.

[Brown] Are you surprised that people voted the way they did?

[Ntaba] I am surprised because every indication that we had from the Malawi Congress Party was in fact to the countrary, but these things do happen in politics. Every once in a while, people do come across unexpected events.

[Brown] And Dr. Hastings Banda, he must have heard of the results, how did he react? How is he taking it?

[Ntaba] Well, he has been informed. Again, as I said, they were unexpected but as an experienced statesman, he has accepted them.

[Brown] And where to now for Malawian politics?

[Ntaba] Well, as the referendum question stated, it was putting a question to the Malawians as to whether they want to maintain the one-party system of dmocracy or move on to the multiparty system of national politics and sure enough the answer indicated the majority, 63 percent of the people in this country, want to switch on to the multiparty system of government and that, the people of Malawi will get.

[Brown] So, are you planning to call an election?

[Ntaba] Well, an obvious consequence, I think, of letting a number of new parties come in, I think is a general election. So, we would not want to delay that eventuality any longer than it is necessary. I feel at some appropriate moment, after several parties have formed and have established themselves to the extent of being able to participate in a general election, the Malawi Government will be calling for a general election where multiple parties will be participating.

[Brown] Are you seeing this as a slap in the face for the MCP and for President Banda from the Malawi people?

[Ntaba] No, far from it. This was simply a question put to the people in a democratic manner. The people have answered and that is what politics is all about. You have to find out what the people's wishes are. If the people's wishes are slightly different from what you would have expected, it is not a slap in the face. [end recording]

Mozambique

Confinement of Troops To Begin 21 June

MB1606110493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Report from Nampula by Radio Mozambique correspondent Marcelino Silva]

[Text] The confinement of government and Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] soldiers is to begin in Zambezia and Nampula Provinces on 21 June. UN Secretary General Representative Aldo Ajello, who visited the cities of Nampula and Nacala today, also said logistical and infrastructural conditions have already been created at three confinement centers. Aldo Ajello was speaking to the media this evening.

The confinement centers are in Namialo and Lurio, in Nampula Province, and Nauene in Zambezia Province. UN observers have already arrived in these areas. Namialo will receive the government soldiers, while Renamo soldiers are to go to Lurio. The only center that has been already prepared in Zambezia is that of Nauene, where Renamo troops are to be confined. Two more confinement centers are to be established in Nampula Province: Angoche, which has been chosen by the government, and Namije, chosen by Afonso Dhlakama's movement.

UN Special Representative Aldo Ajello said, quote, all the necessary UN officers are already in place to supervise the implementation of the General Peace Accord. At this time, a process is under way to observe logistical and infrastructural conditions at some of the centers chosen by the two sides. Other centers already meet the necessary conditions, unquote.

It should be noted that 49 centers have been identified to confine soldiers from both sides. Of those, 29 are for government troops and 20 for Renamo forces.

Aldo Ajello, who was in Nacala and the city of Nampula, was granted an audience by Nampula Governor Alfredo Gamito, at which he was briefed on the peace process. He held an informal meeting with UN Operations in Mozambique observers and visited the Bangladesh infantry battalion barracks. That battalion has started deploying along the Nacala Corridor to protect it. That corridor had previously been guarded by Malawian forces which withdrew last week in accordance with the terms of the Rome Accords.

Renamo Leader Interviewed on Peace Process LD1706103093

[Editorial Report] Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe AT 0600 GMT on 16 June broadcasts the first part of a report by correspondent Antonio Pacheco on his "exclusive" interview with Afonso Dhlakama, leader of Mozambique's National Resistance [Renamo]. The radio states the interview was given in Rome but does not give the date of the interview.

During the interview Dhlakama says: "From the outset, Renamo, Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front], and the international community made mistakes because when we were negotiating, we thought that 24 hours after the signing [of the peace accords] everything would be well. By this I mean that by 30 days after the accord people expected everything would be organized, but then we had seven months and things on the ground were difficult. They are totally diffferent from our expectations when we were negotiating. But to a certain extent, the United Nations also took a long time. We would only demobilize troops from both sides with the full presence of United Nations forces, and they only arrived seven months later.

"And furthermore, the commissions which were set up were not working 100 percent because of the lack of infrastructures for Renamo. It is known that we went as far as withdrawing our representatives in March 1993 because they were living in very poor conditions. We must demand adequate conditions. They were not the conditions we demanded—they were the norm."

Antonio Pacheco then says: "If all goes well, you will be meeting with President Chissano in mid-July to discuss three main topics: the creation of an Independent Media Authority, a State Finances Authority, and finally the problem of former Frelimo troops who are transferring to the new police forces. Despite the fact that the meeting should be held in Maputo, it is unlikely this will happen this time for several reasons."

Dhlakama replies: "I would like to stay there because I am losing contact with various diplomats and intellectual Mozambicans. You know Maputo is the capital, it is the nation's headquarters, it is where the more intellectual circles are based, and with the end of the war I would like to start talking to them."

At 0700 GMT on 16 June the radio broadcasts a second report on Dhlakama's interview with Pecheco. In this report Dhlakama warns that Renamo could dispute the Mozambican election results if the United Nations and the international community are not totally impartial throughout the entire process leading up to the elections. He also warns that Frelimo troops are being incorporated into the Mozambican police, a mistake made in Angola, he says, which eventually plunged the country back into war. He goes on:

"I learned a lot. What happened in Angola? I don't know who is to blame, Savimbi, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angolal, the UN, or the Portuguese government as mediator. I have drawn the attention of the international community to the fact that in my country we want genuine, democratic elections, and the role of the UN and the international community must be truly impartial because if the international community is going to take sides this means that the other side can spoil everything. It is not just a matter of saying Mozambican women and men. For example, I have been saying in my country that Frelimo has already transfered soldiers into the police. You know, people don't listen. They say O.K., you and Chissano can sort that out. This is exactly what happened in Angola! Before the elections Savimbi said that the MPLA was training quick reaction troops. They would say: No, he isn't. But now there is war again. People are progressing, they now want to know who is to blame but they let the problems escalate.

"I have asked the international community to help the Mozambicans. If I and President Chissano are going to resolve matters but we do not reach a solution with the Mozambican people, someone can come and mediate—of course they will not dictate but they can come and help us to reach an agreement."

At 1030 GMT on 16 June the radio carries the third and final report on Dhlakama's interview in Rome. In this report Dhlakama says he does not shirk his responsibilities and admits that everyone, without exception, is to blame. He says it is better to play safe and avoid rushing in order to prevent the mistakes made in Angola.

He then goes on to say:

"Do not distort my words. I am fed up with speaking and being misinterpreted. President Chissano has the support of the radio, the television, the papers, and the industrialized countries whereas I at each interview try to break the barrage of lies about Renamo." He adds that he recognizes that the process is not going well and that everyone is to blame.

Pacheco says Dhlakama is a politician who admits he wants to learn through reality and through the experience of others, adding that Dhlakama said he had learned particularly from the Angolan peace process.

Dhlakama continues: "I learned. I learned a lot. I learned a lot because I saw during my trip, and people would ask

me: Well, President Dhlakama, will you do what Savimbi did—Savimbi also made promises? But I keep answering: Well, the problem is not Savimbi. We must look at the entire process of what happened in Angola." He adds: "I learned a lot because what is happening in Angola, it does not matter. I saw! For 16 years...(Dhlakama changes thought] I never lived in exile, 16 years always in the bush, I know how much the people have suffered, I know the practical consequences of the war in war people from both sides die."

Pacheco concludes his report by saing that Dhlakama also him that he is not available to join a coalition government, and that Frelimo should carry on and take responsibility for the government until the elections.

* Emergency Situation in Matutuine District Noted

93P50212B Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 9 May 93 pp 4-5

[Article by Gaspar Massango]

[Excerpts] The population of Matutuine district in Maputo Province is currently barely surviving with the food aid provided by various nongovernment organizations via the provincial Department of Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters [DPCCN].

The district has almost 55,700 inhabitants and is 173 km from the capital, via Boane.

The district is currently in a state of semidestruction and abandonment. In certain areas the number of people or families living there can be counted on one hand. Many people in the district live in town and in some of the administrative posts such as Bela Vista, Pedreira, and Salamanga. We found out that this is because of the war that ravaged the country.

Despite the peace enjoyed since the signing of the General Peace Accord in Rome, most of the people are afraid of returning to their places of origin because of the climate of tension and distrust and the belief that peace will not last. According to people interviewed by our reporters, a group of armed men came from Boane during the third week in April and asked to spend the night in an installation reserved for government forces. They left the next morning in the direction of Ponta de Ouro without causing any problems.

In that part of the province unarmed Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] elements approach the population in order to trade. "They appear with meat for sale and they never come armed," said a Salamanga resident.

There are people in Bela Vista, Pedreira, and Salamanga who would like to return to home or place of origin but are impeded from doing so by Renamo forces who continue to occupy some areas of the district despite the signing of the General Peace Accord last October. [passage omitted]

Other obstacles include the existence of mines in certain areas and the total lack of means with which to make a living, since the war did not spare anything. It destroyed all the fields, homes, and means of prduction, plunging most families into desperation.

What Hope?

The district, with the best natural conditions for agricultural development, is currently not able to support its 55,700 inhabitants. Without food or potable water and with poor sanitary and educational conditions, the situation in the district is exacerbated by the fact that agricultural production is hampered by mines. [passage omitted]

According to Salomao Honwana, chief of logistics for the Department of Prevention and Control of Natural Disaster of Maputo Province, nearly 36,097 tons of food prducts were distributed from January to September of last year to assist the famine victims. After the signing of the General Peace Accord, 10,031 tons were distributed. [passage omitted]

* Maputo Province Emergency Measures Described

93AF0619A Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 9 May 93 pp 8-9

[Article by Pedro Lambo: "A New Emergency Policy"]

[Text] In spite of the fact that improvements have been made with respect to the emergency situation in Maputo Province, there are still problems in almost all districts, mainly those related to the rehabilitation of economic and social infrastructures that were damaged during the war.

Organizations dealing with emergency services in Maputo report that the drought has ceased to be a basic problem, at least to judge by the recent downpours that have been recorded.

Still, the effects of that natural catastrophe continue to make themselves felt over a widespread area, in conjunction with several others facts, for example, such as the progressive return in ever greater numbers of persons who had been displaced from their native areas, and who lack essential goods and also tools of production.

It is here that a new emergency policy is being enacted for Maputo Province.

In the district of Manhica, north of the country's capital, the emergency situation is worrisome due to the gradual increase in the number of displaced persons and people affected by the war and the drought who are now returning to their native areas. This factor creates immense difficulties in monitoring them, even though efforts are being made in that direction. Those citizens are returning to their native areas even though the emergency program has not taken them into account. This makes it imperative to support them by providing them with the basic necessities and work tools.

The latest population count indicates that Manhica has 160,000 inhabitants, a number that is now considered to have been surpassed due to the great flood of returnees, whether from the city of Maputo or from other districts, and also from Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] bases.

Currently, actions are under way aimed at ascertaining the real number of inhabitants. So far, 5,742 returnees who have been resettled in their native areas have been registered. These people need support urgently, given the precarious situation in which they find themselves.

It should be reported that from January to September of last year, the district in question had 88,600 displaced and affected persons, of whom 52,000 were assisted by Doctors Without Borders from Switzerland. The rest went without any help whatsoever.

During this period, the displaced and affected persons were the recipients of free seeds. But after the seeds germinated, the results were not satisfactory, due to the intense heat that set in.

With regard to water supply, still within the scope of the emergency program, 12 wells were drilled in Munguine, Maciana, Manhica (township) and Mbenguelene, of which six are equipped with manual pumps.

With regard to the status of the access roads, little can be said if one considers that the only road in operating condition is National Highway Number 1, including the stretch from Bobole to the Xinavane intersection.

The remaining highways are full of potholes, and their status is unreliable because they become impassible in rainy periods. The war, although it is now over, put the commercial, health, and school conditions in that district into a terrible state.

At the administrative posts, the commercial network is inadequate, because most of the stores have been destroyed, with commercial activity operating out of small rooms.

The district headquarters is the only place where commerce is operating satisfactorily, with the stores full of assorted merchandise. The only thing lacking is purchasing power. In order to overcome the deficient operation of commerce, priority needs to be given to the rehabilitation of the stores that have been destroyed in Xinavane, Ilha Josina Machel, and Calanga.

Identical Situation in Other Districts

In the district of Matutuine, the 4,020 inhabitants in the administrative post of Machangulo who had taken refuge in the area of Muchina, an area under in administrative post of Inhaca, are gradually returning. The same thing is taking place with regard to the area of Zitundo, where 323 inhabitants have returned from neighboring countries and 250 have returned from Renamo areas.

Catuane, another administrative post, now has 250 families, which translates to 941 inhabitants who have returned from neighboring countries and from the city of Maputo. They have already resettled in the neighborhoods of Phazimane, Manhica, Guamanda, Ndlala, Zicale, Chucha, Guebuza, Manhangane, and Mahau.

At the administrative post of Bela-Vista, 819 inhabitants have returned from neighboring countries and the city of Maputo so far, and they are now in Salamanga, Madjuva, and Bela-Vista.

With the cessation of hostilities in the country, the District Emergency Commission in Matutuine has widened its area of operations, serving a total of 1,385 persons.

As for the agricultural situation in that area, the 1992-93 campaign began with a plan for 6,455 hectares of various crops. In order to move this campaign forward, 50 tons of rice, 26.5 tons of corn, 18,500 tons of butter beans, and 4,950 kgs of nhemba beans have been made available through the PESU [expansion not given].

The current crop situation is rather critical since the people began to prepare the planting late due to the lack of rain, with the first precipitation being recorded just last December.

Still in the area of agriculture, priorities have been established, including the distribution of seeds, production, and land factors, as well as providing resources, such as tractors that can be rented by people interested in revitalizing agriculture, given the fact that the district of Matutuine does not have private farmers.

It is well-known that the majority of the population is made up of peasants with no sources of income, who have to cope with many problems to get seeds.

Before the war broke out, Matutuine was one of the major cattle-raising areas, in addition to other species. The cattle population dwindled due to the war, and now it needs to be reestablished through financing that can be granted to the cattle raisers.

Within the framework of the emergency program in the district of Moamba, several programs aimed toward raising the consciousness of the people have been undertaken so that they can work in the productive areas where they had previously been accommodated, in spite of the prolonged drought situation that devastated that territory in 1992.

Last year, Moamba had about 29,745 displaced persons and 41,921 affected people, coming from various areas of the district. It should be noted that last year this district of Moamba had about 71,666 inhabitants, compared with the 90,896 who were counted during the last general census of 1980.

In agricultural activity, part of the population had been fitted into the blocs of Projects I and II and of Sabie-Incomati, where some irrigation systems have been created, although the results have not been satisfactory in the 225 hectares distributed.

The additional supplying of basic necessities that are not on the commercial network circuit but are donated by DPCCN [Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters], has reinforced the ability to provide a normal supply for the people. This has been chosen as the method for distribution and channeling of products through the administrative posts of Sabie, Ressano Garcia, Pessene, and in the district headquarters, and totals more than 59,000 tons of corn, lentils, corn meal, cooking oil, beans, and peanuts.

It is important to stress that at the administrative post of Ressano Garcia, an average of 95 people have been entering the country daily, repatriated from South Africa, which could change the percentage of affected people.

During 1992, 26,242 refugees were repatriated, counting women, children, and men, who were immediately sent back to their places of origin.

In the education sector, according to the survey of children in a difficult situation, it has been verified that 379 students have lost their father, 557 have lost their mother, and 279 have a single father or mother, for a total of 1,369.

In April of last year, the district received the first shipment of school materials for the first semester, which was distributed by the schools according to the number of students registered under the scope of the emergency program.

The second shipment did not arrive until September and, due to the fact that it was already the end of the second semester of the school year, this material was not distributed.

Moamba still has major emergency needs in order to be able to attend to a whole range of programs that are included in the national reconstruction plan.

Meanwhile, in Marracuene, 8,957 people who have returned to their native areas, scattered throughout neighborhoods, towns and administrative posts, have been recorded so far.

Emergency goods are being distributed directly to needy people through organizations that are operating in the district, such as the Red Cross of Mozambique, the DPCCN, and Care International, which are assisting a total of 44,028 beneficiaries who have been affected by the drought and displaced by the war.

In order to coordinate the work of such organizations, in particular the DPCCN and Care International, work brigades have been created in the countryside in which base structures play a part, including the most influential elderly people in each area, who report to the District Emergency Commission.

In fact, this method has yielded good results, due to the fact that the emergency products are reaching their recipients. It can be stated, in general, that we are coping with a shortage of allotments, because now that peace is at hand, the number of beneficiaries is tending to increase, with the slow return of displaced and affected people to their native areas.

The Mozambique Red Cross, through a semiannual program of product distribution begun last October, is assisting the people residing in Matalane, Hobjana, Galunde, Macaneta I and II, respectively, for a total of 9,017 beneficiaries, who are receiving a monthly ration of corn, cooking oil, and beans.

Last year, that NGO [nongovernmental organization] distributed 259.8 tons of corn, 1,061.7 liters of cooking oil, and 500 kgs of beans.

Nutritional Rehabilitation

The Mozambique Red Cross has started a program of nutritional rehabilitation in the areas where it operates in Marracuene, assisting 40 children as its basic constituency.

At this moment, another 15 children are included, and at the end of every three months there is a nutritional evaluation of the children by agents from health services so as to release those who have recuperated.

For this program, last year the Red Cross received 250 kgs of powdered milk, 300 kgs of sugar, 500 kgs of beans, 177 liters of cooking oil, and 300 kgs of corn meal.

Simultaneously, that humanitarian organization is rehabilitating the Eduardo Mondlane Health Clinic, with the clinic at Macaneta I still to be done. Work on the latter clinic has not started yet.

The project to build housing to set up a diesel-run mill in Bobole is under way. The only things that remain to be done are putting in the doors and windows and setting up the mill itself.

On the other hand, Care International is providing humanitarian aid within the rural community through the direct distribution of emergency products to those who have been displaced and affected by the war and the drought, with the number of beneficiaries estimated at 24,884 in 14 population centers.

Last year, that foreign NGO distributed 931.9 tons of yellow corn, 96.7 tons of beans, and 2 units of tents, and this year it is continuing its operation distributing food products to needy people.

The DPCCN, through donor organizations (WFP [World Food Program], ASDI [expansion not given], LWF [Lutheran World Federation], Japan, CCM [Mozambique Christian Council], CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency], Semoc, Italy), is assisting about 9,017 people in almost all the district's population centers, where the above-mentioned NGO's are handling the direct distribution of products.

It should be reported that last year the DPCCN distributed 938.8 tons of white corn, 10 tons of peanuts, 82.6 tons of beans, 32.2 tons of cooking oil, 43.1 tons of lentils, 2.1 tons of soap, 15 cartons of used clothes, 30 cartons of blankets, capulana [a kind of cloth worn by women] and units of tents.

For the 1991-92 agricultural campaign, within the scope of the emergency program, the district of Marracuene received production factors that benefited the four major agricultural areas, namely Machubo, Nhongonhane, Michafutene, and Marracuene (township).

These seeds were sold at prices of 600 meticals per kilo of corn and 700 meticals per kilo of rice to the various agricultural production sectors.

These seeds are marketed at below normal prices to the displaced and affected people, and there are, in circumstances previously analyzed, sales exemptions for those who have no purchasing power.

Speaking of the 1992-93 campaign that is now under way, one must stress the fact that it began in the midst of the drought and the consequent salinity of the Incomati River, which contributed to the failure of the first sowing. In fact, the quantities of seeds received became insignificant.

The second sowing was not successful either, since heavy precipitation that arrived later decimated the crops in the low-lying areas and along the banks of the Incomati River. On the other hand, there are prospects for a good harvest in dry-land agriculture, mainly in corn, nhemba beans, and peanuts.

With the recent receipt of distribution (sale) of production factors to the productive sectors, it is forecast that satisfactory levels of yield will be achieved, which will go toward minimizing the effects of hunger in the district's population.

To improve the water supply in Marracuene, many national and foreign NGO's have made financing available earmarked for drilling wells.

It is in this way that in the headquarters locality four wells have been drilled, two of which are operational and the remaining two not yet working, in the towns of Massinga and Fafetine. Still in this locality, in Macaneta II, seven wells have been drilled along with another five in Mbenguelene, all of which are operational.

Also in Bobole, Nhongonhane, Mumemo, Michafutene, and Matalane, wells have been installed that are operating and supplying the people with water on a regular basis.

Concerning highways and bridges, there is nothing to report, due to the fact that the programs planned to rehabilitate them have not yet been started up, either due to lack of investments by the government or due to lack of financing from the nongovernmental organizations that are operating in the area.

However, it should be stressed that the precipitation that has been recorded in the last few days is accelerating the state of disrepair of the access highways, making them impassable, particularly the Macaneta highway.

This situation deserves a lot of attention, and appropriate measures and actions must be taken to improve the poor conditions of the highways and bridges throughout the district.

The same situation is reported with regard to the commercial network. The destruction of infrastructures either through military action or neglect means that the respective property owners do not have the funds to rehabilitate their stores.

It is sufficient to report that, in terms of general commerce, of the 45 stores that were operating in the district before the war, only eight are operating now.

The District Emergency Commission is worried about the situation of 36 families displaced by the war who are living in the clay pits of the town of Marracuene, which is causing the degradation of the environment due to rain erosion.

The return of these families to their native areas must await the removal of the mines in the area. The local authorities hope to transfer them to be resettled in another locale, in an operation in which the District Emergency Commission hopes to have support from the NGO's that are at work in Maputo Province.

Since the district of Boane is basically agricultural, which means that 75 percent of its population is made up of peasants, there is always the need to produce corn as the basic crop to feed the local population.

However, for the agricultural campaign now under way, this crop is not going to produce the desired yield due to the fact that there are areas in the district in which crop production is estimated to be only average, while in others a lack of sufficient precipitation is reported due to the irregularity in the distribution of rainfall.

So far in this campaign, the district of Boane has received 28 tons of corn seed, of which eight tons have

been distributed free of charge to displaced persons and the remainder has been sold to the local people at below market prices.

Likewise, 5 tons of nhemba beans have been received, and are still being distributed. Elsewhere, methods of supplying water to the people include systems of channeling water, public drinking fountains, drilling wells, and direct consumption (rivers and ponds).

The first system is the one most commonly used in the district's town and in some residences at the headquarters of the administrative post of Matola-Rio. The system of public drinking fountains is found throughout almost the entire district, assuring a water supply to the people, although lately there have been problems arising from the age of the pipes.

Wells are more common in the communal villages and towns at some distance from the river, and improvements are also lacking in the areas where these exist.

With regard to the water supply project in the communal villages of Massaca I and II, the work is at a fairly advanced stage, with financing coming from the Italian Government.

For its part, the district of Magude, with regard to its education and health networks, finds itself operating with 12 schools, one of which is a secondary school.

Of the 11 primary schools, five are considered displaced, that is, they are currently operating in the district head-quarters. The Motaze Secondary School, which used to operate in the district of Chokwe as a displaced school, has now been back in its original area since January, enrolling 500 students who are being taught by five teachers.

In order to find a minimal solution for the problems that are plaguing that establishment, it is necessary to build at least three residences for teachers, increase the number of classrooms to five, since only two now exist, and get desks and bulletin boards, and repair the doors, the roof, the windows, and the facilities of the partially destroyed residence of the school's director.

The health network is in full operation and in its original areas, with a health center and two health posts in working locales.

In Motaze, a multipurpose agent was assigned in February, and since this time he has been assisting the people at the above-mentioned administrative post, but without adequate working conditions.

This presupposes the construction of a health post equipped with all the conditions necessary, namely, examining rooms, an infirmary, a maternity ward, and a residence for the paramedical personnel.

* Challenges Facing Reconstruction Observed

93AF0619C Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 9 May 93 pp 6, 11

[Article by Bento Baloi: "The Obstacles to Social Reintegration"]

[Text] Mozambique is going through a decisive phase. The peace agreement, which put an end to more than 15 years of war, has already been signed. There are more than 3 million displaced persons and 2 million refugees to reintegrate into social life, and there are still 107,000 military men to demobilize.

The process of implementing the Rome accord is stalled, and the nearly \$400 million promised by the international community is still being awaited. The process is not linear, but rather, on the contrary...it is rather winding....

The process of pacifying the country is going through some troubled moments, characterized by the delay in meeting the timetables worked out in Rome. Most of the working commissions called for by the General Peace Agreement have not yet been created, and those that have already been formed have been working on an irregular basis.

This whole scenario jeopardizes the process of social reintegration of the Mozambican refugees who have returned from neighboring countries, as well as the people who were displaced from their native areas due to the war.

Elsewhere, thousands of military men, whether they were on the side of the government or Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], are still living in great uncertainty, with their future unclear. They are still waiting for the working commissions spelled out in the peace agreement to go into full operation so that they will know if they are going into the reserves or not, and, in case they are, how they will be reintegrated into social life.

Displaced People and Refugees

Mozambique has nearly 2 million refugees distributed throughout Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Tanzania. Since the peace agreement was signed, nearly 180,000 have returned to the country spontaneously, without waiting for an organized repatriation. It is estimated that by the end of the year, the number will reach 800,000.

The Mozambican Government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] are preparing agreements with the countries that are housing the Mozambican refugees, aimed at establishing mechanisms for their repatriation.

There are timetables established by UNHCR for the beginning of the repatriation process. Still, they may be subject to change due to the slowdown in the implementation of the peace agreement.

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So, for Malawi, it was expected that the process would be initiated in the period between April and May of this year and that it would take at least three years. In Zimbabwe, it was also expected that the process would begin between April and May and would take approximately a year and a half. As for Tanzania, the process would not begin until March or April of 1994, taking less than one year. With regard to Zambia, the process could also begin between March and April of next year, and estimates are that it would last less than six months. The refugees who are in Swaziland will be able to return to the country this year. This process could start this coming July, lasting for a period of five or six months.

By the end of this year, UNHCR will have a budget of nearly \$30 million available to assist the spontaneous returnees in various social areas such as food, health, transportation, medical assistance, education, agriculture, etc.

On the other hand, estimates of the "macro" project point to the figure of \$265 million as the amount necessary for the social reintegration process of 3,659,100 displaced persons, 800,000 returnees, and 107,000 demobilized soldiers.

For primary health care in the areas of greatest population density, \$15 million will be needed. Two million dollars will have to be invested in education, including the rehabilitation of the infrastructures that have been destroyed, school materials, and one year's salary for the teachers. The rural water sector will require a budget of \$4 million, while activities of a social nature, such as the reintegration of abandoned children and vulnerable groups, will cost \$2 million.

The rehabilitation of access highways (roads and bridges) to facilitate the distribution of humanitarian assistance goods should be budgeted at \$20 million. The implementation of social and productive activities will cost \$45 million.

The assistance of nearly 100,000 refugees who will be able to return based on an organized repatriation by the end of this year will cost \$10.5 million.

The Demobilized

The number of military men to be demobilized from the Mozambique Armed Forces and from Renamo, within the scope of the peace agreement, is estimated at 107,000. The costs of the process of demobilizing them and reintegrating them into society are \$83.5 million (to be borne by the government and by UNOMOZ [UN Operations in Mozambique]). The amount of financing being requested from the international community is \$61 million.

Among the activities considered to be the most important are the food project, health care, and other logistical questions in the military camps, the costs of which are estimated at \$10 million.

On the other hand, the transition to civilian life will include the distribution of civilian clothing to the demobilized men (at a cost of \$1.5 million), transportation to their native areas (\$24 million), payment of six months' worth of compensation (\$22.5 million), activities of the Reintegration Commission, CORE (\$1.5 million), and coordination with the civilian component to speed up the reintegration process (\$500,000).

Mine Removal

This is a point that must be given very serious attention for the success of the whole national reconstruction program. Fatal accidents have already begun to occur in several places around the country, and this has led some humanitarian assistance agencies to reconsider their operations in those districts.

The task will be very hard, taking into consideration the fact that the number of mines scattered throughout the country is estimated to be 2 million, with the aggravating circumstance that there are no precise maps detailing their location.

It is expected that the operation will last at least 15 years and that nearly \$30 million will be needed just for the first year.

The national mine-removal program was conceived by Patrick Blagden, a UN expert in the matter, and it already has some pledges of financing. Holland has promised \$2.7 million, and Sweden has made \$4.3 million available. For its part, the Norwegian NGO [nongovernmental organization] "Aid From the People of Norway" will train 64 Mozambicans in mine removal with financing from the Norwegian Government valued at \$1.1 million.

In Patrick Blagden's program, priority is given to the highways necessary for the distribution of humanitarian aid, access highways to the locales where demobilized soldiers are being quartered, highways used by the returning refugees, villages, access highways, and rural areas necessary to the resettling of refugees and displaced persons, and also areas around infrastructures that are necessary for the country's economic recovery.

AWEPPA Makes Recommendations

The Association of European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid in Support of Africa (AWEPPA) and the Euro-African Institute spelled out several recommendations for national pacification in a conference held in the city of Maputo. In their view, in order for the General Peace Accord to operate fully as a guarantee of the survival of the Mozambican people, it is imperative that the UN mission in Mozambique, UNOMOZ, in its capacity as the representative of the international community, carry out its task in an effective and impartial way and in a spirit of cooperation with the Mozambican Government and with all the parties involved in the process.

The European parliamentarians state that the international community must honor the commitments they made at the Conference of Donors in Rome.

Demobilization of the military forces on both sides and the formation of a unified army are indispensable conditions for the democratization and absolute pacification of the country. Still, the presence of nearly 1.5 million unmonitored weapons threatens the process under way in the country, and for this reason a specific program aimed at collecting them and then destroying them must be established. Special programs must be carried out in the social reintegration process of the demobilized soldiers.

With regard to the Mozambican refugees in neighboring countries, the AWEPPA conference recommended that their return should be voluntary and never forced. During the period in which they remain outside the country awaiting the absolute pacification of Mozambique, humanitarian aid must not stop.

The refugees must have the right to regain their lands, or other lands should be turned over to them in order that they might have a level of self-subsistence. They should return to their native areas with dignity, and should be able to get the necessary information so that they can integrate themselves into the process of national reconciliation and, especially, participate in next year's elections.

The European parliamentarians further argue that, in accordance with the International Principle of Human Rights, the Government of South Africa should be pressured to accept the consequences of the presence of Mozambican refugees, as other neighboring countries have done. The electrification of the border fence between Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa, which has already killed thousands of people, "is inadmissable," according to the parliamentarians.

International Community Will Give Money

The president of AWEPPA, Jan Nico Scholten, stated that he is sure that the international community will make the nearly \$400 million promised by the Rome conference available. Scholten was speaking to national and foreign journalists at a press conference at the end of the AWEPPA conference in Maputo. The source stated that the organization did not have any money, but that it was made up of politicians who are influential in the parliaments of their countries and that once they returned to Europe, they would pressure their governments to honor their commitments as soon as possible.

"It is the bureaucracy that is delaying the arrival of the money, but they are going to give," he said, later adding, "the only thing that scares us is the delay that is being reported in the implementation of the agreement, which could lead the European governments to doubt the process a little, but they are agreeable and they are going to give what they promised."

Jan Scholten also said that his organization would work to get funds for two specific programs in Mozambique: collecting and then destroying 1.5 million weapons that are circulating unmonitored in Mozambique, and reintegrating the children who have no family as a result of the war.

With regard to the first project, which is to be called "Food For Weapons," AWEPPA will launch campaigns to exchange weapons for basic food products, and those weapons will immediately be destroyed. On the other hand, for those who prefer to sell them, AWEPPA could support the creation of mechanisms to purchase those weapons at prices roughly equivalent to those that apply on the secondary market.

With regard to the "Every Child a Family" project, the organization of European parliamentarians is planning to participate actively in the reuniting process among the children who were abandoned and lost during the war.

One More Mozambican NGO Is Born

Our newspaper learned from Reverend Lucas Amosse, the interim secretary general of the Mozambique Christian Council (CCM), that Repatriation, Rehabilitation, and Resettling, or simply "3 R's" is the name of a new ecumenical organization being formed with the goal of becoming involved in the three areas of humanitarian support.

According to the same source, this organization is coming about as the result of combining the efforts of three organizations, namely Caritas of Mozambique, the Worldwide Lutheran Federation, and the CCM.

"The organization has already sketched out several projects aimed at the social reintegration of the Mozambican refugees," said Reverend Amosse.

The 175,000 Person Project

Elsewhere, several days ago, the Mozambique Christian Council held a meeting with its principal donors with the goal of launching an appeal for \$10 million, the amount needed to implement an infrastructure rehabilitation project and resettle nearly 175,000 people in different parts of the country.

The project is to be implemented over two years and has areas of action appropriately identified. "We are going to rehabilitate schools, hospitals, highways, etc.... We are going to carry out food assistance activities and provide support in the way of work tools for the people who have returned from captivity."

"We already know exactly where it is that we are going to operate and our activities will occur basically in the border regions, but with a national perspective," said our source.

* Government Organization Aids Urban Needy

93P50212A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 16 May 93 pp 7-9

[Excerpts] Nearly 3 million people in the cities live in absolute poverty for different reasons, among them the negative effect of the PRES [Economic Reform Program]. The government is trying to alleviate the situation by granting food subsidies to the poorest of the poor and the most vulnerable. This is an enormous challenge for, by the end of the year, the program will cover 50,000 households.

Mozambique is first among the group of worldwide countries whose population is experiencing an absolute lack of material necessities. For those who reside in rural areas, the government and the international community have found ways to assist them with food, clothing, and agricultural supplies to confront the crisis caused by war and drought. In the cities, where extreme poverty is caused by different factors, there exists the Office in Support of the Vulnerable Population (GAPVU).

Structurally a part of the Ministry of Finance and attached to the State Secretariat of Social Action (SEAS), GAPVU, whose character is social and humanitarian has been functioning since 1991 and was established by the government to serve as an instrument capable of organizing the identification and selection of indigent households with a fixed residence in the main urban centers of the country in order to alleviate their situation through food subsidies.

Almost 15 percent of the urban population, a little over 3 million people, are threatened. [passage omitted]

Through the Food Subsidy Program, GAPVU's backbone, the government is providing assistance to the most needy among the vulnerable population groups. According to Prafulta Iaiantilal, national director of GAPVU, "When I mention vulnerable population groups I mean those who are extremely indigent. Households to benefit are chosen from among this group."

The Target Groups

Among extremely low-income gruops, the target groups who would benefit from the Food Subsidy Program are individuals or households who have lived in the provincial capitals, including Nacala, prior to 1 January 1991, the date of the implementation of the program, and whose per capita income does not exceed 20,000 meticals. This group includes individuals of both sexes who are over 60 years of age and who have been unemployed for more than two years.

Handicapped persons of both sexes who are over 18 are those who, because of incapacitation, cannot survive on their own. These are also a target group of the Food Subsidy Program and 184 of these handicapped persons are being assisted in Mozambican cities except Quelimane, Inhambane, Maxixe, Pemba, and Lichinga.

Pregnant woemn who are malnourished or present other risk factors are among the special target groups. A total of 4,507 pregnant women have benefited from the Food Subsidy Program include 13,127 children (under five) who also have nutritional problems. [passage omitted]

Limited Funds

[passage omitted] GAPVU has a limited budget earmarked for the food subsidy fund and other expenses. The scarcity of funds is mostly felt in the cities of Inhambane, Maxixe, Lichinga, Xai-Xai, and Pemba. According to Prafulta Jaiantital, an estimated additional 13,025,274 meticals is needed for all the provinces. Even so, this addition seems small to cover new candidates for the food subsidy and, thus, this figure should be raised to 10 billion meticals.

[passage omitted] Despite various constraints, GAPVU officals confirm that satisfactory results were obtained in the distribution of food subsidies in 1992. The program covered 28,662 households in the country and spent 4.2 billion meticals.

* Minister Discusses Foreign Policy Issues

93AF0615A Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 2 May 93 pp 8-9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi by Benedito Gomane, at a Maputo restaurant; date not given; first two paragraphs are DOMINGO introduction]

[Text] Despite enormous difficulties, resulting mainly from the war, but also from natural disasters and other misfortunes that constantly hinder its development, Mozambique has never ceased to play an active part in the international order and the community of nations. Attempting to keep up-to-date on the progress of this effort, DOMINGO approached the head of Mozambican diplomacy, Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi, whose face personifies the Government of the Republic of Mozambique in the international arena. The interview took place on the eve of yet another trip abroad, this time in the direction of the faraway Asian continent, where he went to attend a meeting of the Islamic Conference. By talking to Mocumbi, a physician by profession, but nowadays one of the best African diplomats, right in the style of his predecessor (suffice it to say he is from the same school)-discreet, elegant and, with good reason, thoroughly familiar with the big international "dossiers," this newspaper naturally hoped to learn what the current position of our government is in light of the major challenges now facing a world where there is no shortage of regional conflicts that threaten peace.

Because the interview occurred when the echoes of the departure of Zimbabwean troops from our country had not yet died away, we talked with Mocumbi about the very special relationship between Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Of course, during this meeting of approximately two hours at the "Le Paris" restaurant on busy Avenida

Julius Nyerere, we did not talk only about foreign affairs. We wanted to know a little about the life of citizen Pascoal Mocumbi, no easy task because he told us at the outset that he does not like to talk about himself. High points in the interview? These appear, of course, in the various passages that constitute the backdrop of this interview.

[Gomane] In the context of the foreign policy of the Government of Mozambique, what has been determined as being the priority at this point?

[Mocumbi] At present there is no difference between foreign policy and domestic policy-as there used to be in the past, by the way. Our first priority is the application of the General Peace Accord, the normalization of life in Mozambique. This is the longing shared by all Mozambican citizens. We are going to continue to act on external factors that may contribute to a smooth application—in the sense of a serious, timely, and proper application-of the General Peace Accord, its full application. That the accord be the frame of reference for all our partners in the normalization of life in Mozambique is our first concern. The second concern is obtaining funds for a comprehensive application of the accord: obtaining funds for the reintegration of the displaced, of the refugees, for holding multiparty elections in this country; and to mobilize support, both bilateral and multilateral, for the Economic Recovery Program. Despite our having been in a state of war, we have adopted a complete package of economic reforms that, as a unit, is known as the Economic and Social Recovery Program. This program must continue during this process of application of the General Peace Accord. We are going to continue to strengthen existing friendships and acquire new friends—this is a continuing activity. It should be noted that this year Mozambique is going to establish relations with new countries-diplomatic relations. It is our intention to expand the relations between the Mozambican people and the countries of the world.

[Gomane] We are now witnessing a political crisis in Italy. That country has played a big role in the peace accord, and one might even say that it has become a sort of guarantee for Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. That is why there are some who link that crisis to the departure of the Renamo members from the commissions. How will the crisis affect relations between the two governments, and what effect might it have on the implementation of the General Peace Accord?

[Mocumbi] I do not know whether you have followed my activities recently. In these past weeks, I have had the opportunity to meet with the Italian minister of foreign affairs, in Rome, on 14 March, and he assured me that Italy will continue to do its very best to strengthen the relations of cooperation with Mozambique. Italy will continue to promote, to be one of the promoters, of the General Peace Accord. On that occasion, I referred to the crisis in Italy. Probably you are as well aware, as I, that Italy is one of the few countries that can live for months

and months without a government; its public administration keeps functioning as if nothing had happened. Therefore, the Italian administrative machine knows how to proceed even when the government is in crisis. As a result of that, 10 days after I met with the minister, the Italian ambassador in Maputo came to my office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to thank me for my intervention in Rome and to tell me that he had just received funding for his work, especially for financing certain activities under the General Peace Accord. Therefore, when you tell sae that among the possible consequences of the Italian crisis is the withdrawal of the Renamo personnel, you are mixing the wheat with the chaff. If they left Maputo, it was for their own reasons. I do not see how a crisis that affects some of the Italian politicians can influence an organization that signed an agreement, to withdraw from the commissions, alleging that there is a crisis.

[Gomane] Does this question arise from the fact that Italy looks like a guarantee for Renamo?

[Mocumbi] Can it be Italy? Do you mean that when Renamo has to run its campaign, it will not do it without an Italian by its side? Can it be that the men of Renamo cannot fire a shot without an Italian standing by? That is an inference I would not like to make.

[Gomane] What, at this point, is the political position of the Mozambican Government as regards the various regional conflicts?

[Mocumbi] In our diplomatic activities, we have been encouraging dialogue where it already exists, and where it does not exist we, together with other countries, are going to promote actions that lead to dialogue, dialogue that is successful. So that is our overall position, in principle. We base our position on each situation, at each moment, on the current phase of the process.

In relation to Angola:

We consider it unfortunate that one of the parties to the accord did not recognize the results of the elections, and instead of accepting the results of the people's verdict, has taken up arms. We strongly repudiate that, because we do not believe it is democratic to try to impose one's will with weapons.

On East Timor:

We have encouraged actions that lead to dialogue. In East Timor, there is still no dialogue between the Government of Indonesia and the democratic Timorese forces. Since that dialogue has not yet taken place, we have encouraged Portugal, as administering power, to promote a dialogue with Indonesia so that the Timor question can be resolved.

[Gomane] There is some talk of an closeness between the Government of Mozambique and that of Indonesia.

[Mocumbi] There are still no economic contacts between Mozambique and Indonesia. There is, indeed, a political closeness that occurred last year when we established diplomatic relations.

[Gomane] Does that in any way affect Mozambique's traditional strong support of Fretilin [Revolutionary Front for East Timor Independence]?

[Mocumbi] As you must know, there are Mauberes living in Mozambique.

[Gomane] Mozambique signed cooperation treaties and agreements with several Eastern countries that were socialist at the time. What is happening to those treaties and agreements now, particularly those with the former Soviet Union and the former German Democratic Republic [GDR]?

[Mocumbi] It varies from one country to another. Let's take our great partners, Germany and the former Soviet Union. As you know, the GDR has ceased to exist, it was integrated into and is now a part of the Federal Republic of Germany. Relations between Mozambique and the Federal Republic of Germany are excellent. I had a meeting with the foreign minister of Germany, during which we reviewed the plans for following up on the decisions made during President Chissano's visit to Germany. The question that arose then, and is still pending, is what to do about Mozambique's debt to the German Democratic Republic. The Club of Paris decided to reschedule the debt; what Mozambique wants is for that debt to be wiped out, and we are still working toward the objective of having that debt wiped out. The program that had the most negative effects on Mozambique was the human resources program. We had 6,000 Mozambicans in the former GDR, and they had to come back. That created unemployment here, and they were kept from continuing their practical studies. We have tried to find ways with the Government of Germanyways to help those Mozambicans integrate themselves into the country's economy. A program is to be implemented, but I do not have details about the latest developments. I believe the Ministry of Cooperation and Labor will have those details about what is actually being done since the agreement was signed.

As for the former Soviet Union:

The agreements with the former Soviet Union were renounced, but we are still worried about the Mozambicans who are studying there. The policy has been to take allow those who had started their training to finish their studies, but life in the former Soviet Union is getting more and more difficult and our compatriots are demonstrating a fine spirit of dedication. They are consenting to make sacrifices to get the training that is necessary for our country's development. The government, with all its limitations, has also given whatever it could. We will do everything possible to help the students find ways to survive. As for the economic relationship, we will always be ready and open to a good relationship with those countries. We have things that

can be exported to those countries, we can also purchase products from them. One need only remember that Mozambique made its economy run on the basis of petroleum from the former Soviet Union, and so we can resume buying oil on some basis yet to be agreed on. We can see other areas, when we work on a state-to-state basis. At the ministry of foreign affairs, we are studying ways to make progress in the individual relationships with each one of the states. We have diplomatic relations with Russia, but the tendency will be to establish diplomatic relations with each of the states in the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Mozambican Government is not taking new initiatives either, as long as the situation there is not stabilized. We want those states to stabilize so that there is a favorable climate for a propitious relationship.

On the Media

Discussing his relationship with the media, the minister admitted he does not know how to work with the press, adding that neither does it know how to work with him. In his opinion, there should be more informal contacts between journalists and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to help them "write certain articles."

[Gomane] Sir, what is your opinion of the Mozambican press?

[Mocumbi] I do not like to generalize. At each particular moment I will have an opinion on the work of a specific publication, the work that a given journalist does, whether it pleases or displeases me. What I think should be criticized, I criticize, if I am given the opportunity. But overall, I think we are going through a learning process. As minister I do not yet know how to work correctly with the press, and I do not think the press knows yet how to work well with me. I feel that reporters do not make enough contacts on which to base the articles they write by themselves and for which they take full responsibility. Many times I am asked to give interviews, but very seldom am I asked to talk about certain situations, which would help them to understand and write a better article. This is an aspect on which I am generalizing, but even here there are exceptions, there are some reporters who contact me just to talk. As part of this apprenticeship process, we also have to learn to assume our roles as Mozambicans. I have noticed in the various interviews I have given in the different countries I have visited, that if what I say runs contrary to the line or the national interests of my interlocutor, the interview with me is not published. The reporter's patriotic sentiments lead him to omit things that may conflict with the national interests, this is one experience I have had. The other experience is that the reporter may write a certain story, but the editor in chief does not let it pass because it goes against the editorial line. That is why Mozambican journalists need to learn to define their national identity, to establish their frames of reference so that, whatever the situation, they will know how to handle a subject within their publication's editorial line and, above all, establish the national interests.

My Friend Chissano

Minister Mocumbi did not conceal his friendship with President Chissano, which dates from childhood, but added that this does not put him at an advantage in relation to other members of the Council of Ministers.

(Gomane) How do you feel in your post as minister of foreign affairs, compared with your previous assignment as minister of health?

[Mocumbi] I feel like a member of the government who must apply the policies of the governing party. At Health, the job was to explain health precautions to the entire population, now, at Foreign Affairs, it is to try to take care of the health of the population via external activities.

[Gomane] What special dream would you like to realize as foreign affairs minister?

[Mocumbi] My special dream is to see the country lead a normal life. The other is to realize my personal dream, which is to practice my profession, the medical profession.

[Gomane] There is speculation that you, Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi, will be the government's next prime minister.

[Mocumbi] If you ask me that question, you are asking the wrong person. In the Republic of Mozambique, the ministers, including the prime minister, are appointed by the chief of state. Therefore, anyone who speculates must think he can get inside the head of the chief of state. What I can say is that the chief of state has never spoken about the matter with me.

[Gomane] People know that you and the chief of state are longtime personal friends. Does that friendship give you an advantage over other ministers?

[Mocumbi] My friendship with President Chissano developed when we were still young men, we were students, we had no idea that one day we would be holding high government offices as we are doing now. One of our characteristics is loyalty to the friendship; it is not a friendship that is based on the fact that we are friends and is to be continued as minister. We are friends just because we are friends, and it does not affect our government duties. I never felt this to be something that would put me in a special position vis-a-vis the others. The tendency when we are on a team is to work together, to march together. As we get to know other colleagues on the Council of Ministers, we become even greater friends. I have already many friends on the Council of Ministers, as I have also made friends outside the Council of Ministers-with some reporters even-and with people who hold neither government nor party office.

Relations Between Mozambique and Zimbabwe

To Pascoal Mocumbi, the allegation that relations between the Mozambican and Zimbabwean Governments are deteriorating "is nothing more than speculation by misinformed sources," perhaps sparked by Robert Mugabe's absence from the ceremony that marked the end of the presence of Zimbabwean troops in Mozambique.

[Gomane] How would you assess the present status of relations between the Government of Zimbabwe and the Government of Mozambique?

[Mocumbi] Let us look at two aspects of the relations with Zimbabwe: the political aspect, and the economic aspect. From the political standpoint, our relations are the best we could have with a neighboring country and, for that very reason, we can compare them with the economic relations, which have not achieved the level of the political relations. Zimbabwe and Mozambique have no political disputes. Zimbabwe and Mozambique have a cooperation agreement. Government leaders have held regular consultations. The delay in setting up the joint committee is regrettable, but leaving that aside, I myself was in Zimbabwe this year and was able to evaluate relations between the two countries. Last year, the foreign minister of Zimbabwe also visited Mozambique. Since we began the practice of having these regular meetings, both in Mozambique and in Zimbabwe, we have never missed one. And all we have been doing is identifying aspects of the relations that require a certain amount of attention from the two governments. Because when we on the Mozambican side have problems, we ask the Zimbabweans; we are friends, our countries began to cultivate this relationship when we were not yet countries. We have a long history of relations, and we consider that our friendship is guaranteed. Friendship is like a bonfire, if we do not constantly add firewood, the bonfire may die out. Therefore, we get together regularly, we talk, and this enables us to prevent situations that were not handled at the right time from degenerating into a crisis in the relationship.

[Gomane] One question I think it is pertinent to raise, now that the troops from Zimbabwe have left Mozambique: what was it that we managed to avoid by the presence of the Army of Zimbabwe?

[Mocumbi] The presence of Zimbabwean troops in Mozambique was requested, essentially, for the protection of the [Beira] corridor, and I can say that the corridor functioned even during the most difficult moments of the war. The pipeline [preceding word in English] was sabotaged only a few times. This is a concrete example of what we achieved with the presence of the Zimbabwean troops. It freed the Armed Forces of Mozambique for combat operations.

[Gomane] Some political circles in Zimbabwe questioned the presence of their troops in Mozambique, citing the high costs of the operation. How much did the Zimbabwean presence in Mozambique cost, and how will the Government of Mozambique compensate Zimbabwe?

[Mocumbi] What do you mean by a contract for compensation! It was an act of solidarity, we did not keep track of what to pay to Zimbabwe. Neither we nor the Zimbabweans put a price on solidarity. It was not as an act of charity that the Zimbabweans were with us here, just as it was not an act of charity that the Mozambicans were over there during the struggle for liberation of Zimbabwe.

National interest—and owing to our diplomatic activity, as members of the international community, we wanted to respond to an appeal from this community that demanded a coordinated action at the international level to pressure Ian Smith's minority regime to yield to independence. Only the Mozambicans can tally the cost of our action—the delay in our development; they will be able to say what it was. But, weighed against the independence of Zimbabwe, we can say that it was positive, on balance. The Zimbabweans, too, when they came here, came to defend freedom, freedom of access to the sea via the ports of Beira and Maputo, which enabled the fuel to be shipped to Zimbabwe, that freedom was vital. For that very reason, those voices that spoke out in Zimbabwe to question the timeliness of the Zimbabwean intervention, eventually came to understand it. After that, there were no more heated debates in the legislature questioning that presence in Mozambique.

I believe that in the months following the withdrawal of the Zimbabwean troops, we will witness welcoming gestures, not merely institutional acts by the Government of Zimbabwe, but also acts by simple people. Nongovernmental organizations will hail the actions of the Zimbabwean Army.

[Gomane] Sir, there is speculation among insiders about differences of opinion between the Government of Mozambique and that of Zimbabwe as regards the process of implementing the General Peace Accord. Would you care to comment?

[Mocumbi] Well! Those speculations must come from misinformed sources.

[Gomane] What insiders are saying is that the Government of Zimbabwe favors the formation, in Mozambique, of a government of national unity, of which Renamo would be a part. That government would take care of actually implementing the General Peace Accord. It would be a way of finding an internal solution, instead of waiting for the full United Nations contingent to arrive.

[Mocumbi] I do not know what the Zimbabweans mean with that opinion. The Zimbabweans know the ropes because they had an active role in the negotiation of the peace agreement. The peace accord calls for pacification

activities, for elimination of war as a factor in Mozambique. It calls for political actions to bring about reconciliation among Mozambicans, and for competition among Mozambicans from the political standpoint, via an election. It provides for actions to be taken toward social and economic reincorporation of the Mozambicans, both the refugees and the displaced, and all these lines of actions complement each other. Therefore, there cannot be a solid and stable pacification as long as the Mozambicans have not been socially reincorporated; until the refugees have returned to their homes and found satisfactory activities to pursue; until the demobilized military are engaging in viable economic activity; until the displaced have also returned to their homes. Even if the process of ending the armed conflict goes well in purely military terms, if these other aspects are not fulfilled, including the holding of free and fair elections, there may not be success in normalizing life in this nation. The Zimbabweans are alert, and they are monitoring the process of peace for Mozambique. Those who say "government of national unity" without waiting for the results and the realization of what is provided in the peace accord-I do not know how that is possible, and I do not know where those kinds of comments are leading. Because that could raise doubts, anxieties about manipulation, about maneuvers to derail the accord.

[Gomane] In the region of Manica, the local press reported incidents of persecution by the Zimbabwean troops against rebels who had taken refuge in Mozambique. Will there be mechanisms, in the context of the relationship between the two countries, that are intended to handle this type of proceeding?

[Mocumbi] As you know, since the application of the General Peace Accord, the Armed Forces of Mozambique have been in a situation where they have to stay where they were, awaiting the next stage, which is the separation of forces, followed by a concentration of forces. The Armed Forces of Mozambique are prohibited by the accord from going on maneuvers. Therefore, only if there is military confirmation of incursions by foreign elements into our territory can we take action. On the basis of precise military information we can ask that institution that under the agreement has the authority to verify, to find out what is happening in the field. As to this specific incident, there was no confirmation of the report, and so I cannot comment.

[Gomane] Is there, or is there not a special reason behind the stationing of the Italian battalion along the Beira Corridor? We know that some time ago there was a dispute between the Portuguese and the British about the demarcation of the border with Zimbabwe, in the area of Manica. The issue was resolved by an international tribunal, headed by an Italian judge. Is it likely that the Italian judge has resolved the issue in a manner that bodes well for the future?

[Mocumbi] The Mozambican Government, when it asked for intervention by the United Nations rather than

by a particular country, did so precisely to avoid countries from bringing in disputes, from representing their own interests instead of representing the international community of which Mozambique is also a member. I do not believe that the Italian battalion—or the Botswanan, Tanzanian, or Zimbabwean battalion—can exploit the

situation, within a United Nations force, to revive old historical disputes. Otherwise we would have to rethink the entire history of our borders during the process of Mozambique pacification. I am convinced that these are speculations that have been getting people excited; but from an actual standpoint, they are not close to reality.

Cote d'Ivoire

African Federalist Party Created 20 Feb

AB1406123293 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaine Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT 13 Jun 93

[Excerpt] A new party has been formed. The African Federalist Party [PFA] was created on 20 February. The chairman, Mr. Gustave Damahou Guede, held a news conference on 12 June at the Koumasi recreation center and said that the PFA is a non-aligned, federalist, and reformist party which was created to fill a void. The party will call on Ivorians to look critically at their lives, standards of living, and the future. Ivorians should think about how Africa and Africans can be saved when people are becoming poorer because of rampant unemployment and when all the active forces are sent into exile. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister on African Affairs

AB1406007093 Abidjan NOTRE TEMPS in French 9 Jun 93 p 4, 5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Amara Essy in Abidjan by NOTRE TEMPS reporter Abdoulaye Sangare; date not given—first paragraph is NOTRE TEMPS introduction]

[Excerpts] After the collapse of the intra-Angolan negotiations in Abidjan, what will be the Ivorian attitude toward the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]? Will Taylor be stooped from crossing the Ivorian border? How will Ivorian diplomacy contribute to restoring peace to Togo and Zaire? These are a few salient questions Foreign Minister Amara Essy was kind enough to answer—with the caution of a diplomat and in coded words. [passage omitted]

[Sangare] Jonas Savimbi's UNITA made it known that it was ready to come back to Abidjan to resume the talks. Can you give us more details?

[Essy] I am waiting to be officially notified. What is certain is that there cannot be a resumption of the talks if no clarifications are made on the very point because of which no agreement was signed. We can negotiate for one, even two years without any result if the basic principles that should rule the negotiations are not accepted by both parties. Everybody agrees that the talks should resume but we should have a clear and precise idea on how to tackle the document. From there, the resumption of the talks is possible.

[Sangare] In other words, the ball is in UNITA's court?

[Essy] I would like to say as a diplomat that we are the host country. We hosted the conference. The head of state has played a key role by bringing both parties to understand each other better. We should not judge the parties and I think that the resolutions that were adopted as well as the communique issued by the observers clearly indicated each party's responsibility.

[Sangare] Some observers thought at a time that the choice of Abidjan to host the peace talks could positively influence the Angolan talks because of the special ties existing between President Houphouet-Boigny and the UNITA leader. Is the collapse of the Abidjan talks a failure of Ivorian diplomacy?

[Essy] On the contrary! Remember that after the Addis Ababa talks, UNITA refused to initiate any dialogue and even refuted the principle of meeting with the Angolan Government, in Angola or elsewhere. The fact that we were able to bring them together in Abidjan is a success in itself. When one sees the considerable means that are available to the great powers and that despite all this they have been struggling for years to solve the Middle East conflict, the Cambodian and Afghanistan issues, and today that of Bosnia, and this despite all the UN resolutions. No conflict is easy to settle. There is the logic of those who are fighting and that of the people who are trying to help them. The solution to a conflict is always found through necessary steps.

Regardless of the friendship we have for one or the other party, they are all Angolans. Each party studies a possible solution according to its own point of view. We cannot take the place of either party. Friendship, of course, can be conducive for a better understanding and that is what we have been advocating. I made a trip to Huambo at the request of the president because after 10 days, we realized that UNITA was not prepared to accept a cease-fire and that its delegation came to Abidjan to obtain the suspension of all activities. It was later that Savimbi agreed to a cease-fire wile awaiting the sending of UN blue helmets. But to have blue helmets, you have to secure certain objective conditions. The choice of Cote d'Ivoire as a host country can be explained not only by the parties concerned but also by observers. Indeed, President Houphouet-Boigny is very conversant with this case because his relations with Savimbi date far back. [passage omitted]

[Sangare] How far have you gone today with your contacts for a possible resumption of the peace talks?

[Essy] It is difficult to answer you because contacts with every armed movement are transitory in the sense that one never knows where they are. This is the case in Liberia where it is from the press that we learn about what is happening.

I read in the press that UNITA wanted to resume the negotiations. Before then, I had read that it was not ready to give up an inch of its conquered territory. In this kind of situation, we must keep calm and maintain contact with them. Cote d'Ivoire is not running after any of them. When they themselves feel the need they will come to us. For the mean time, I have made no contact, but when they need us they will establish the contact. [passage omitted]

[Sangare] Mr. Minister, after the recent violation of Ivorian airspace by Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] planes, have you received any official explanations from ECOWAS authorities?

[Essy] I have heard several times on BBC and RFI that the planes never crossed the Ivorian border and that there were attacks by ECOMOG war planes, but 250 km from the border. What is certain—and I have already said this—is that the Alpha Jets violated the border at Gbeta and that Ivorian anti-aircraft defense reacted immediately. The reasons are very simple. The first time when the incidents took place at Gbeta, the planes had overflown the area three or four times. Then the attack followed. This time, as soon as our men saw the planes, they fired and the planes went back.

The lesson that can be learned from all this is the need to search for a mechanism to coordinate ECOMOG activities in the implementation of both the decisions made at the Abuja summit and the UN Security Council resolutions. Everyone has commended ECOMOG's efforts, but we must somehow make it a perfect instrument. Today, with communication difficulties between the ECOWAS chairman, the executive secretary who lives in Abuja or Lagos, and the ECOMOG commander in Monrovia—the planes are in Sierra Leone-when I contacted the ECOWAS leaders, they were surprised and asked for investigations to be made. When someone is not in the field, with good faith he can make statements without knowing the truth. I told my Beninese counterpart that the best way of getting the correct version is to send a team immediately to the field to know, a few hours later, what really happened. ECOWAS must work out a mechanism of information that can enable politicians to control the soldiers' activities. [passage omitted]

[Sangare] Have you proposed anything concrete in this regard to ECOWAS?

[Essy] Oh yes, we made some proposals. First of all, some consultation mechanisms exist and so when we hear some accusations, we become surprised. The committee of five has not received any complaints concerning possible violations of ECOWAS measures. Furthermore, the ECOMOG commander in chief should report on his activities to member states, but this has not been done for a long time. He was recently blamed for that. Today, we cannot leave crisis management in the sole hands of the ECOMOG commander and the ECOWAS executive secretary. Each time we hear proposals from the ECOWAS executive secretary, it is through the press. We have therefore asked the current chairman to take steps to stop all that.

[Sangare] We heard that ECOMOG planes were chasing Charles Taylor who had crossed the Ivorian borders a few hours earlier. Does the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] leader continue to enjoy the freedom of entry and leaving the Ivorian territory as he used to do a year or two ago?

[Essy] I am positive that no NPFL leader can enter Cote d'Ivoire without specific justification. Even if you are in a conflict, a door must always be left open. Since the decision to apply sanctions, whenever Charles Taylor has messengers who have to travel to either Benin or Burkina Faso in the process of the search for peace, we allow them

to pass. Since the sanctions, Taylor himself, who used to come often to Man, is no longer authorized to do so. [passage omitted]

[Sangare] Has the Ivorian diplomatic service taken measures to help resolve the serious crises which have left Togo and Zaire in blood?

[Essy] We have had contacts with Togolese politicians to whom the president gave some advice. The solution to the crisis lies in the hands of Togolese themselves. I think they are on the right path with the election postponement so they can find a consensus on the various ways for open, fair, and honest elections. [passage omitted]

Ghana

Commentary Views UN Air Strikes in Somalia

AB1506135593 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 14 Jun 93

[David Owen-Barnes Commentary]

[Text] The display of American air power in Somalia has triggered off mixed reactions worldwide over the scale of destruction and its implications for the overall peace process. For three days running, the Somali capital, Mogadishu, has been rocked by cannon fire and series of explosions in retaliation for the killing of 23 Pakistani UN soldiers by militiamen loyal to the warlord, General Farah Aidid. The air strikes are also meant to restore UN authority in Mogadishu. Some analysts believe that the new wave of bloodshed in Somalia could have been avoided if the international peacekeepers had been more assertive initially in their bid to disarm the warring factions.

Following what turned out to be the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, U.S. Marines intervened and later withdrew after seeing to the safe delivery of relief items to the starving population. During this period, the nicest opportunity to deal with the warring factions was missed. The shift of command from the Americans to the United Nations might have given the flip to the Aidid militias to renew their brutal and inhuman acts against the UN troops. This was illustrated by the carnage by the Aidid gangsters in which the 23 Pakistanis were killed.

To some analysts, such an open challenge by the militias signaled the failure of the entire operation in Somalia. But the United Nations and other observers of the international scene would not buy this argument. Rather the problems was traced to an innocuous mandate of the UN operation.

So, when the UN Security Council plugged the loophole by authorizing the peacekeepers to use all necessary means to contain the situation in Somalia, the outcome is now lending itself to a host of interpretations. Fears have been expressed that the recolonization of Somalia is in the offing while relief agencies describe the air strikes as an unacceptable paradox to efforts to keep the peace.

The killing of the 20 Somali demonstrators is regrettable but if it is established that the killing was orchestrated by the Aidid militia, who used women and children as a shield in provocative demonstrations, then there is no point to be sentimental over civilian casualties, less so when they occurred within the UN mandate. The UN peacekeepers in Somalia should continue to use all necessary means to ensure the resumption of humanitarian work to facilitate the rehabilitation of the devastated country and to enhance national reconciliation. In other words, the UN troops should incessantly pommel Gen. Aidid into submission until a climate is created to achieve these goals.

The next target should be Charles Taylor in Liberia, Jonas Savimbi in Angola, and other notorious rebel leaders elsewhere who have proved to be nothing but agents of destruction and roadblocks to peace.

Liberia

Presidency Officials 'Spying' for NPFL

AB1506194593 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In spite of recent military setbacks, Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor is still managing to cause considerable embarrassment to the interim government of Amos Sawyer. Now a major scandal is brewing and it looks as if senior officials close to the presidency have been spying on Taylor's behalf. From Monrovia, Nii Anartey Alison telexed this report.

The government here is investigating its chief of telecommunications and some principal deputies for their part in the tapping of presidential telephone lines and listening in on Cabinet decisions. Details emerging here since Friday [11 June], when the lid on the phone tapping syndicate was blown, suggest that sensitive information about ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and government troop movements have been recorded and relayed to Charles Taylor. Government officials involved in the investigation told me that such dubious practices have affected the government on many occasions. The equipment used to tap the phones is said to have been installed by two French nationals in a secret room hooked on to the satellite facilities at the telecommunications headquarters. Sources close to the investigation say one of the French nationals has been arrested. According to Justice Minister Phillip Banks, the telecommunications boss, Mr. Martin Gargaah is at the center of investigation and is under house arrest. I understand the syndicate was discovered when the government was tipped off by an insider following repeated disagreement between Gargaah and his principal deputy over policy differences.

NPFL for International Investigation Into Massacre

AB1606182093 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The repercussions from the 6 June Harbel massacre are continuing to make waves both inside and outside Liberia. The UN envoy to Liberia, Trevor Gordon-Somers has been asked to find out who was responsible for the killing of people at the camp who were displaced. Meanwhile, speculation is rife with Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] denying it was them and blaming the Armed Forces of Liberia instead.

Today, the NPFL's foreign minister, Momolu Sirleaf, called for a proper investigation of the whole affair. On the line to Washington Robin White asked him what kind of inquiry they are looking for?

[Begin recording] [Sirleaf] Well, we want an independent international commission of inquiry. You see, there have been just too many evil eyes going on in Liberia, and the genocide is being covered up and we want the light of day to be shown on it, so that the evildoers can be exposed because this is the only way we are going to heal the wounds of our country. And we have asked the [UN] Security Council to appoint an international commission of inquiry and want the people to come from like Amnesty International, the human rights groups all around the world, the parliamentarian human rights group and so forth, to have an independent commission so that the chase may fall wherever it may.

[White] Now, the UN have their talk man there, Mr. Gordon- Somers, and he is investigating. What is the matter with that?

[Sirleaf] Oh you know, with all due respect, an individual cannot constitute an international commission of inquiry. Moreover, Gordon-Somers already has his hand full trying to call a meeting and trying to get humanitarian aid into Liberia. And also, he is not an expert in forensic science, he has never done investigation of any criminal matter, he has not investigated a single murder. Now, this is a genocide on a large scale. It is just impossible, it is asking too much of him. I know that he himself will admit that he is not qualified to do that thing.

[White] Some people say that you are calling for this inquiry as a smokescreen, that you know you are guilty, everybody knows you are guilty. You are just trying to throw some smoke.

[Sirleaf] We are calling for an independent commission and we have no control of it. So what is [pauses].... Anybody who is interested in justice and fairness, cannot criticize this.

[White] Finally, Mr. Sirleaf, could I ask you who you are hoping is going to win the Nigerian elections?

[Sirleaf, laughing] Well you know, I do not want to really interfere in the Nigerian internal affairs but I hope that they will be successful this time. You know this country has been independent for something like 33 years....

[White, interrupting] Yes, we know that. Who would you like to win?

[Sirleaf] I have no preference. I have no preference, I hope the Nigerian people win. That is, I hope they do have democracy. Once you have democracy, it does not really matter who is president.

[White] Do you think it will really make any difference in Nigeria's policy towards you and policy towards Liberia?

[Sirleaf] Oh, I do think so because I know the Nigerian people themselves are not interested in this war. I have talked to a lot of Nigerian officials who are not interested in this war. Even their economy is being destroyed. So I am sure they don't want this war to go on. They cannot sustain it and we cannot sustain it.

[White, interrupting] But both Mr. Tofa and Mr. Abiola said that they will continue the same policy about Liberia.

[Sirleaf] Well, seeing it and then doing it are two different things. [end recording]

Nigeria

President Refuses To Accept NEC Chief Resignation

AB1606154593 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] Lagos, June 16 (AFP)—Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida refused to accept the resignation Wednesday [16 June] of the head of the National Electoral Commission, Humphrey Nwosu, a diplomatic source said.

Earlier Wednesday the centre-right National Republican Convention (NRC) complained that the commission, which organized Nigeria's presidential election, had violated the election law.

Nwosu offered to resign at a meeting of the commission during which the final results of Saturday's elections were expected to be announced, the diplomatic source said.

A statement issued by NRC communications secretary Okey Uzoho, reported by the official News Agency of Nigeria, said partial results displayed on a huge board outside the National Electoral Commission's offices in the federal capital Abuja were unauthenticated, and showing them like that was "in total contravention of the electoral laws."

Attacking rival Social Democratic Party (SDP) candidate Moshood Abiola as well as the NEC, Uzoho alleged such conduct was "deliberate action calculated to mislead and incite the general public."

He said several versions of the results had been distributed across the country in a bid to create "chaos and anarchy."

The election commission's release of voting returns was suspended late Tuesday under a court order.

According to official returns from 14 of the 30 federal states, the NRC's candidate Bashir Othman Tofa was trailing Abiola by two million votes in Saturday's presidential election.

The voting was to choose a civilian president after a decade of military rule.

In his statement the NRC official also complained that the election board had failed to mount effective publicity to counteract last Friday's injunction from the High Court in Abuja barring the commission from organising the poll. The ruling was ignored, but it had had a "demoralising and undemocratic effect on general voter turnout," Uzoho said.

Abuja High Court judge M.M.D. Saleh ordered that further publication of voting returns be suspended in response to a complaint from the Association for a Better Nigeria, which had tried unsuccessfully to prevent the election from taking place at all.

The association, which supports the maintenance of military rule, charged that that National Election Commission had so far released results that were "unofficial and un-authenticated" in contradiction to the electoral law.

The panel was to meet again Wednesday to consider its next move.

Election Activities Suspended 'Indefinitely'

AB1606174793 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] The National Electoral Commission, NEC, has suspended indefinitely all activities emanating from the presidential elections conducted last Saturday [12 June]. A statement by the commission in Abuja today explained that it decided to stay action because of what it called developments and actions pending in courts. The commission stated that yesterday an interim order by another Abuja high court was served on NEC, restraining it from announcing the results of the presidential elections. It said today another writ of summon was served on it through the honorable attorney general of the federation to defend why the commission conducted the Saturday's election in defiance of the court order.

Furthermore, a [word indistinct] has been filed in the court for the correct interpretation of Section 19, Subsection 1 of the presidential election basic constitutional and transitional decree No. 13 of 1993 and whether the interpretation given by the commission is correct or not. NEC said it conducted the election, because the said decree provided that no such interim or interlocutory order by any court or tribunal shall affect the date or time of the election.

Meanwhile, the commission has decided to challenge the right of the Abuja high court to enter contempt proceedings against it or any of its officers for holding the presidential election. It said it will also file an appeal to the

court of appeal together with the motion for accelerated hearing, challenging the jurisdiction of the said court to entertain the suit and the motion restraining the commission from conducting the said election.

Government Denies Interfering With Election

AB1606190093 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] The Federal Government has denied foreign media reports which suggested that it was interfering with the presidential election held last Saturday. The chief press secretary to the president, Chief Duro Onabule, said in an interview in Abuja today that the government had nothing to fear with the conduct of the election, before or after. He said responsibility for the election was given to the National Electoral Commission, NEC, which had yet to report back to government. Chief Onabule stated that the commission was at a liberty to bring whatever problem that was hampering its progress to the attention of the government. He added that the commission has so far not made any report.

Court Orders Commission To Release Results

AB1606182593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1730 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Election so Far" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A Benin high court, presided over by Justice James Siado, today granted an interim injunction restraining NEC [National Electoral Commission] Chairman Professor Humphrey Nwosu and the chief returning officer of the Federation, Professor Ideria, from further withholding, neglecting, or refusing to release the authentic results of the presidential election of last Saturday, pending the final determination of a motion ex parte filed by Mr. Maxim Wegbeda, a member of the Edo State House of Assembly.

The high court directed that NEC Chairman Professor Humphrey Nwosu and the chief returning officer to declare without further delay the results and winner of the presidential election. The court also granted an interim order to the attorney general of the federation, the National Defense and Security Council, and the president of the country to direct NEC and the chief returning officer of the Federation to release the authentic results of the presidential poll in respect of the 16 states in the overall interest of justice. Justice Siado gave the defendants 30 days within which to file their defense. [passage omitted]

Official on Effort To Keep Babangida in Power

AB1606201093 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpts] Four days after Nigeria's voters cast their ballots in presidential elections for the two candidates Moshood Abiola of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and Bashir Tofa of the NRC [National Republican Convention] and they are still waiting for the results. And they will have wait even longer because this afternoon the National Electoral Commission, NEC, issued a statement saying that it is suspending the publication of results until further notice. [passage omitted]

The politician who has been pressing for the election process to be called off altogether is Chief Arthur Nzeribe, the multimillionaire who took the petition of the Association for a Better Nigeria to court. The Association wants President Babangida to stay in power for another four years. On the line, Robin White asked Chief Nzeribe if he felt vindicated by the suspension of the results.

[Begin recording] [Nzeribe] Yes, I do. I feel very much vindicated that NEC at last have come to their senses and have realized that there has to be law and order in this country. Yes, I feel very happy.

[White] So, what are going to do now? Just sit there and wait or do what?

[Nzeribe] No, I am not going to sit down and wait. I am now going to embark on the political side of our campaign.

[White] And what does that mean?

[Nzeribe] Next week, we are leading a delegation of 100,000 heads to the presidency to submit the appeal signed by 25 million Nigerians asking Babangida to remain in office for the next four years. That is the primary objective.

[White] Now what do you think he will feel about that?

[Nzeribe] Well, it is up to him to decide. When we go to Babangida and say here you are, duly signed, 25 million Nigerians representing 52.5 percent of the registered adult voters, that will be a test for his nationalism and patriotism.

[White] But do you think he might stay on?

[Nzeribe] I repeat, that is a test, that is a challenge for him to know.

[White] Because some people think, Chief Nzeribe, that, you know, that he is in (?cohorts) with you, that, you know, that you are all part of the same campaign?

[Nzeribe] There has been no sign that Babangida is in a deal with me. This is a man who has locked me up twice and sent me to detention twice. I have nothing to do with the man. If Babangida wanted to stay in the office one million years, he doesn't need Nzeribe, because I didn't put him there in the first place. The man has got his gun, his constituency, he has got his barracks. He doesn't need me.

[White] When did you last see him?

[Nzeribe] I have never met the man.

[White] You've never met him?

[Nzeribe] No, I have never seen Babangida eyeball to eyeball.

[White] Have you spoken to him on the telephone?

[Nzeribe] No I haven't. Why do I have to? This is a man who had me locked up. This is a man to whom I am saying: Hey, listen, stay back where you are. You have to solve the problems you've actually helped to create. This country needs you, don't run away from it.

[White] Tell me why you want him to stay on and run the country if he locked you up?

[Nzeribe] Because I am patriotic. I am a nationalist. And the situation at this moment shows that we of the political class, we are not ready, we are not organized. I don't want us to take over a poisoned chalice. If the Army leaves now, if Babangida leaves now, anybody that comes in will be out in the next two, three months like we saw in 1982, 83. Do you see the point I am making?

[White] I do, but I am wondering if you have presidential ambitions yourselves, because you did want to stand at one time and then you were banned.

[Nzeribe] But, I do. I still have a presidential ambition. Of course, (?damn it), I will be prepared to give my left arm tomorrow to be the president of my country. This is the ambition of any politician, to get the number one job in the field. I am sure you want to become a director BBC one day, don't you?

[White] No, I don't.

[Nzeribe] Well, I do want to be a president of my country one day because this is my profession. I am a full-time politician.

[White] So, it's your agenda that, you know, you've got these elections... [changes thought] trying to get them canceled so that you will have a chance next time?

[Nzeribe] No, I want these elections canceled so that Babangida will stay on for four years to put the country in a proper footing for a civilian to take over. Now, in four years when he goes, having corrected the ills, you can count on it, I will compete, I will participate. [end recording]

NRC, Others Demand Cancellation of Election

AB1606191793 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 16 Jun 93

[Text] A report from Kano says the National Republican Convention [NRC] in the state has called on the Federal Government to cancel the last presidential election based on Decree 13. The press secretary of the party, Alhaji (El Masood Dogua), who led several supporters to the emir's palace, described the conduct of the election as undemocratic. The secretary contended that the Decree 13 stipulated that any person who disrupted the election on or before the date was guilty of an offense. Responding, the emir, (Alhaji Adobayoro), urged the NRC members to conduct their affairs peacefully and obey the law.

Similarly, a group of persons today demonstrated in Kaduna calling on President Babangida and the National Electoral Commission [NEC] to cancel last week's presidential election. The people, who came to the premises of Radio Nigeria, Kaduna, chanting baamu so in Hausa, meaning we don't want, were led by one Mohamed Alhassan of Dutoman Street, Tudinwa, Kaduna. Speaking to our correspondent, Alhaji Mohamed Alhassan said they want the election nullified because NEC has breached a court order. He said that his group was nonpolitical but indigent of Kaduna State.

And in Lagos, an NRC stalwart, Malaam Bashood Mohamed Baaba, has urged the Federal Government and the National Electoral Commission to ignore the court injunction and announce the results from the remaining states without delay. Malaam Mohamed Baaba described the court order as retrogressive, capable of causing a breach of the peace and political disharmony in the country. He attributed the low turnout at the polls to lack of confidence in the candidates of the two political parties as well as the uncertainty of handing over government to civilians by the military.

Togo

Togolese Talks Resume in Burkina Faso 17 Jun AB1706112393 Paris AFP in French 1041 GMT 17 Jun 93

[Text] Ouagadougou, 17 Jun (AFP)—Talks between parties in the internal Togolese conflict, which were suspended last February, resumed in Ouagadougou today shortly after 0900. Representatives of President Gnassingbe Eyadema, the Togolese Government, the opposition, and the High Council of the Republic, the transitional legislative assembly, are attending the talks.

Members of the Burkinabe Government received each of the four delegations successively behind closed doors at the conference hall of the Entente Council but by 1100 no direct contact had taken place between the delegations. None of the participants referred to these preliminary talks from which the press was strictly banned. According to reliable sources, German, French, and Beninese observers are also attending the meeting.

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